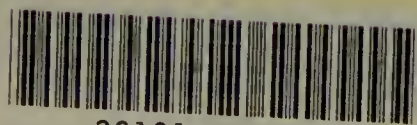




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PART V.—VOL. II.

PRICE 10s.

# JOSEPHUS.

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NEW TRANSLATION, BY DR. TRAILL.

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ILLUSTRATED.

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285

Plates accompanying the Fifth Part.

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# P R E F A C E

TO THE SECOND VOLUME.



IN resuming his task after so long an interval as three years, the Editor feels himself called upon to state, briefly at least, the circumstances to which this unlooked-for delay is attributable.

The lamented death of the Translator, DR. TRAILL, occurred at the very moment when the FOURTH PART of the Work, completing the FIRST VOLUME, was issuing from the press. Public sympathy was at the time vividly excited by this event, connected as it was with the national disasters and woes which have made that period so memorable in the history of Ireland. Dr. Traill fell a victim to the generous and extraordinary exertions made by him, during that winter of horrors—1846-47, to alleviate the sufferings of his parishioners and neighbours. Among the many instances of Christian heroism which marked that season of calamity, few were more deserving of admiration than the one with which we have now to do; and the Editor would think it a culpable omission were he not, on this occasion, to dedicate a page to the memory of his deceased friend.

Whatever might have been Dr. Traill's intellectual endowments, or his accomplishments, it was his animation—his unwearied energy—his vivid and effective sympathies—his devotedness in labours of charity, and the zealous and affectionate discharge of his duties as

a parish minister, that most distinguished him; and in the exercise of these useful virtues it was that he had become known, and had made himself the object of affection in his circle. It might have been difficult for those who knew him only as the pastor, and as the friend of the poor, and who witnessed his daily toils, as such, to imagine or believe that, even after the time when the spreading distress of the district had rendered these duties in the last degree arduous and oppressive, Dr. Traill still found time for carrying forward his usual literary labours, which in fact were not remitted until his last illness threatened his life. It was from that bed from which he did not rise, that he wrote to his friend—"Send me no more proofs—I am upon a fever bed." The habit of rising at the earliest hour, and—during the winter, long before dawn, had given him a command of time which enabled him to accomplish literary tasks without trenching upon his duties as the minister of an extensive parish.

Dr. Robert Traill, third son of the Rev. Anthony Traill, Archdeacon of Connor, and of Agnes, daughter of William Watts Gayer, LL.D., was born at Lisburn, county of Antrim, July 15, 1793. He entered Trinity College, Dublin, in the autumn of the year 1814, and joining the class of the then ending year, passed the examination which immediately followed in a manner that excited the surprise of the Examiners. He went through his college course with marked credit, and at its conclusion spent a year or two in France and Italy. Soon after his return to England, in 1820, he was ordained by the Bishop of Gloucester, in whose diocese he held for some time a curacy. He then revisited his native country, acted as curate in several parishes, and attracted much attention by his vivid and impressive style of preaching. In 1829, he married Anne, eldest daughter of the late Sir Samuel Hayes, Bart.

Dr. Traill succeeded to the parish of Schull, county of Cork, in the year 1830, where his last years were spent in a course of unwearied endeavours to promote the temporal comfort and the spiritual good of his people. The parish of Schull, situated at the extreme south-west point of Ireland, is extensive and populous, and it is one of those districts which have become too well known as the scene

of the most appalling sufferings. Dr. Traill had found the population in a state of deplorable destitution when first he became incumbent of the parish; nor had either his incessant efforts to cherish better habits among the lower classes, nor the munificent use he made of his private fortune, availed to bring them into a condition in which they might, in a less disastrous manner, have met the awful visitations of those years of famine. From the very first, and with a clear-sighted dismay, he had looked forward to what he knew must be the consequences of the approaching calamity; and while many continued to think that the worst evils would be evaded, his letters attest that he did not allow himself to entertain any such delusive expectation;—"death by famine, and then by pestilence, will sweep this country of a third of its people;"—such were his forebodings—and to how awful an extent have they been realized! Well he knew that the habitual and extreme destitution of hundreds around him could have but one issue, if it should be aggravated only a little by scarcity.

Dr. Traill's own means, together with funds that were liberally placed at his disposal by benevolent persons—"known and unknown," throughout Ireland, and by many in England, enabled him, during the months of that terrible winter, to keep alive hundreds who otherwise must at an early time have perished. The cares, the sorrows, and the toil, consequent upon these offices of charity, affecting himself and the several members of his family, were excessive; and in his hurried notes to his friends he speaks of himself as worn out with grief and labour. At length, and especially after the time when the more arduous duty of administering spiritual aid to those who were dying of pestilence, took the place of the comparatively easy task of feeding the hungry, the strain upon his mind and feelings became greater than even so energetic a frame could support. The minister of Christ, in passing from house to house—from hovel to hovel—attempted and endured more than human nature can sustain. A severe attack of dysentery was followed by fever; and after lingering awhile—often seeming to rally, and always in the calm possession of his faculties—he expired, in the confident assurance of that bright immortality which is warranted by the evangelic doctrine he had long professed and proclaimed.

Dr. Traill's religious tastes, as well as his fondness for his Greek studies, had early directed his attention to the writings of Josephus; and it was soon after his entrance upon his duties as Rector of Schull, that he first indulged the ambition of attempting to render accessible to English readers the pages of a writer so pre-eminently important. He had felt—as every reader of it must feel—that, in Whiston's version—cumbrous, abrupt, and repulsive as it is, the writings of the Jewish Historian are scarcely accessible. It is probable indeed that he did not at the first distinctly measure the greatness of the task he had entered upon; nor perhaps did he duly estimate the difficulties which he soon found must attach to it. A gradually acquired perception, however, of the vastness of his enterprise, animated his courage, rather than depressed it; and when, in conversation with literary friends, he discerned more clearly than at first, how much would be required of him, as the Translator of Josephus, the enhanced anxiety he felt did but stimulate his energies to meet the occasion. His was a mind not easily turned from its purpose, and always undismayed by the prospect of toil. At the same time the sense he entertained of the high value of these writings, as related to sacred history, carried him forward with an impulse which—to a mind like his—no motives but such as took their rise in religious feeling could give.

The union, in Dr. Traill's character, of a self-determining energy, with a genuine candour, and a ready deference to the opinion of others, whose judgment he respected, was very remarkable; and this modesty led him to submit his labours, in the most unreserved manner, to the criticism of his friends, and of any whom he thought qualified to aid him by their remarks. It was in consequence of several such appeals to the opinion of others, that he recast his version, again and again, and brought it, with the most laborious care, nearer, and still nearer to the original; while he kept in view always its fluency in style, as English—adapted to the tastes of the mass of readers.

It has already been announced, by advertisement, that Dr. Traill had long ago completed the translation of the Jewish War, as well as the Life of Josephus, and the two Books against Apion, and that he

had made considerable progress also in translating the *Antiquities*. It has moreover been stated that the manuscript had been confided, for revision, to the care of a learned and experienced friend—a member of Trinity College, Dublin—whose valuable services had previously been engaged for correcting the sheets, as they passed through the press.

So much progress having been made at the time of Dr. Traill's death, in effecting what was necessary for completing the work, it had not been supposed that this sad event would long have retarded the regular appearance of the *PARTS*, completing the *Jewish War*. Those however who know what is involved in the carrying forward an extensive literary work—and especially if it be copiously illustrated with engravings, will find it easy to believe that difficulties, not soon to be surmounted, might present themselves, and render impracticable what was so much desired by those who stood responsible to the public for the completion of the *Work*.

These difficulties have however at length given way; and at this moment nothing forbids the Editor to announce the following *Parts* as regularly forthcoming—monthly.

This interval of time has not been lost: on the contrary, much has been done during its continuance to render the *Work* deserving of the favour which it courts. The death of the Translator has indeed unavoidably led to a modification of the plan of the *Work*; for although he had made much progress in preparing the *Antiquities*, and the two Books against Apion, for the press, the state of the manuscript was not such as would have warranted an announcement of the “entire Works of Josephus” as forthcoming. A fulfilment of this first intention of the deceased Translator, would involve far more than an Editor ought to pledge himself to undertake. Meantime it has seemed to him that the mode in which he could best set himself right in the opinion of the purchasers of the *FIRST VOLUME* was, to concentrate his endeavours upon the task of rendering the *Jewish War* complete in itself, and as acceptable as possible.

In the first place, and as being of primary importance, the whole

of the Translation, now in course of publication, has undergone a renewed and laborious revision; for effecting which the Editor has been fortunate in engaging the aid of gentlemen fully competent to the task. The Translation, so far as comprised in the First Volume, had, as we have said, been revised by Dr. Traill's personal friends, and finally by a learned member of Trinity College, Dublin, who read and corrected the sheets as they passed through the press.

The earlier portion of the Text now given to the public, has been carefully examined by a gentleman well known in the learned world—Rev. W. Trollope, but who, in leaving England, was compelled to relinquish the task he had undertaken. This labour has, however, been continued by an accomplished member of the University of Cambridge, who, besides collating the Translation with the Greek Text, has charged himself with the task of reading the sheets as they pass through the press. In this department, therefore, the Editor is warranted in believing that the three years during which the publication of the Work has been suspended, will so have been employed as very greatly to enhance its value, as a faithful and learnedly exact version of the Greek.

During this same interval, moreover, the Editor has kept in view what was to devolve upon himself in adapting the Work to the wishes of the general reader, who, while requiring a trustworthy version of the original, would ask some incidental aid in the perusal of this remarkable history.

Moreover, time has been afforded for completing the graphic Illustrations of the Work, and for adding to the number at first intended to accompany the Jewish War. In this respect the purchasers of the First Volume will not find themselves sparingly dealt with in the Second.

The Seven Books of the JEWISH WAR, while they constitute a history which is complete in itself, so are they by far the most important, the most authentic, and the most entertaining of the writings of Josephus. It is the "Jewish War" almost exclusively, that can engage the attention of any reader who has not some special



purpose of erudition in view when he takes "Josephus" from his shelves. It is this history of the overthrow and of the scattering of the Jewish polity, worship, and nation, which renders Josephus a witness whose evidence (when duly sifted) is of inestimable importance. In a word, it is the History of the Jewish War, as narrated by Josephus, which, more than any other ancient book—not included in the canon of Scripture—connects the long past with the present, and both with the future.

I. T.

STANFORD RIVERS, 1850..









JULIUS CÆSAR.





# THE JEWISH WAR.

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## BOOK III.

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### ARGUMENT OF THE THIRD BOOK.

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1. Vespasian is sent by Nero against the Jews.—2. A great slaughter of the Jews near Ascalon.—3. Description of Galilee, Samaria, and Judæa.—4. Titus, with a large army, arrives at Ptolemais.—5. An account of the Roman armies.—6. Vespasian invades Galilee, and 7. takes Jotapata.—8. What Josephus said when brought before Vespasian, and in what manner he was treated by Vespasian.—9. The taking of Joppa, and surrender of Tiberias.—10. The capture of Tarichæa.





## BOOK III.

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### CHAPTER I.

1. WHEN Nero was informed of the disasters in Judæa, though seized with consternation and alarm—suppressed however as was natural, he assumed, in public, a haughty and indignant air. Attributing what had occurred rather to the negligence of his general, than to the valour of the foe, he deemed it becoming in one who sustained the weight of the empire to treat misfortunes with stately contempt, and show himself possessed of a mind superior to every reverse. His mental perturbation, notwithstanding, was betrayed by his thoughtfulness.

2. Deliberating to whom he should confide the east, which was already in commotion, and whose task it should be at once to chastise the Jewish insurgents, and to impose a timely check on the surrounding nations, who were catching the contagion, Vespasian alone could he find adequate to the emergency, or able to support the burden of so vast an enterprise;—a man who from youth to age had spent his life in military service; who for the Romans had formerly pacified the west, when disturbed by the Germans; and to whose arms they owed the acquisition of Britain, hitherto unknown. This last was a conquest, on account of which his father Claudius, without any toil on his own part, had obtained a triumph.

3. Auguring favourably, therefore, from these facts, and seeing his years steadied by experience, and that, together with his own approved fidelity, his sons were a pledge, and their vigour a hand, for the execution of their father's sagacious counsels—God also, perhaps, providentially directing the whole—Nero sent him to assume the command of the armies in Syria, paying him, in consequence of the urgency of the occasion, many soothing and flattering compliments, such as necessities of the kind demand. Immediately on his appointment, Vespasian, who had been staying with Nero in Achaia, despatched from thence his son Titus to Alexandria, to bring up the fifth and tenth legions; while he himself, crossing the Hellespont, proceeded by land to Syria, and there concentrated the Roman forces, and a large body of auxiliaries from the neighbouring princes.

## CHAPTER II.

1. AFTER the defeat of Cestius, the Jews, elated with their unexpected success, were unable to restrain their ardour; and, fanned as it were by fortune, pushed hostilities still further. Accordingly, collecting without delay their most effective troops, they advanced upon Ascalon. This is an ancient city, five hundred and twenty furlongs from Jerusalem, and ever regarded with hatred by the Jews; and it seemed, therefore, a proper object for their primary attack. The expedition was led by three men, distinguished alike for vigour and intelligence—Niger the Peræite, Silas the Babylonian, and John the Essæan. Ascalon, though strongly fortified, was almost destitute of defence—a cohort of infantry, and one squadron of cavalry, under the orders of Antonius, constituting the garrison.

2. Impelled by rage, the Jews advanced with unusual celerity, and, as if hurrying from some neighbouring spot, were forthwith at their destination. Antonius, who was not unapprised of their intended attack, had previously drawn out his horse, and—daunted neither by the numbers, nor by the boldness, of his assailants—received their first onset with firmness, and repulsed them as they were pushing forward to the fortifications. They, unskilled in war, were engaged against the skilful: infantry against cavalry: the disarrayed against serried ranks: men armed as chance enabled, against soldiers completely equipped; and thus led on by passion, rather than reflection, and opposed to disciplined troops, who acted on the instant at a signal from their commander, they afforded an easy victory. For, once that their front ranks were thrown into confusion, they were repelled by the cavalry; and, falling upon those in their rear, who were pressing on to the wall, they became each other's antagonists; until all, giving way before the charges of the horse, were scattered over the entire plain. This was wide, and thoroughly adapted to the movements of cavalry:—a circumstance, which, favourable to the Romans, occasioned terrible havoc among the Jews. Such as fled they intercepted, and drove back; and, cutting through the masses congregated by the flight, they slew them in crowds. Others surrounding the fugitives, wherever they turned, and continuing to ride round them, found them an easy mark for their javelins. In their perplexity their very multitude seemed solitude

to the Jews; while the Romans, owing to their success, though few in respect of the battle, deemed their numbers more than sufficient. And as the former, ashamed of sudden flight, and in hope of an auspicious change, struggled long against their disasters; so were the latter insensible of fatigue while fortune smiled. And thus the contest was protracted until evening, when ten thousand Jews lay dead upon the field: and among them two of their generals, John and Silas. The remainder, for the most part wounded, took refuge with Niger, their surviving commander, in a little town of Idumæa, called Sallis. In this engagement some few of the Romans, also, were wounded.

3. Unbroken in spirit, however, by so dire a calamity, and rather roused to daring by their discomfiture; regardless too of their comrades, lifeless at their feet, the Jews were lured by former triumphs to a second overthrow. Accordingly, without so much as allowing their wounds time to heal, they collected the whole of their force, and, with augmented rage, and in much greater numbers, returned to the assault of Ascalon. But with the same inexperience, and other disadvantages for war, the same fortune as before attended them. Antonius having placed ambushes in the passes, they fell unwittingly into his toils, and being surrounded by the cavalry before they could form for battle, they were again defeated, and upwards of eight thousand slain. The remnant fled, and with them Niger, who performed many feats of valour in the retreat; and being closely pressed by the enemy, they were driven into a strong tower of a village called Bezedel.

Antonius and his party, that they might neither lose their time before a place difficult of capture, nor permit the general, and he the bravest of their foes, to escape with life, set fire to the fort: and while it was in flames, the Romans withdrew exulting, as if Niger had met his fate. He, however, having leaped down from the tower, saved himself in the most secret cavern of the fortress: and three days after, when his friends with loud laments were searching for his body in order to its interment, he spoke to them from below; and, coming forth, filled the hearts of the Jews with unhopèd-for joy, as if preserved by the providence of God to lead them to future conflicts.

4. Vespasian, meanwhile, breaking up with his troops from Antioch—the capital of Syria, and which, without dispute, both from its extent, and other advantages, ranks as the third city of the Roman world, and where he had found king Agrippa with his whole force awaiting his arrival, made a rapid march to Ptolemais.

In this city he was met by the inhabitants of Sepphoris in Galilee, such at least as were disposed for peace. Mindful of their own safety, and the strength of the Romans, they had, prior to the coming of Vespasian, pledged their fidelity to Cestius Gallus, and, under assurance of protection, admitted a garrison. Having on this occasion cordially welcomed the general, and cheerfully promised their assistance in his contest with their countrymen, he, at their request, at once assigned them a guard of as many horse and foot as he deemed sufficient for repelling the incursions of the Jews, in the event of any movement on their part. For it appeared to him that the loss of Sepphoris would be attended with no small danger in the approaching struggle, as it was the largest city of Galilee, built in a situation of peculiar strength, and calculated to be a bulwark to the entire province.

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### CHAPTER III.

1. THERE are two Galilees, designated the Upper and the Lower, which are environed by Phœnicia and Syria. They are bounded on the west by the confines of the territory of Ptolemais, and by Carmel, a mountain belonging formerly to the Galilæans, but at present to the Tyrians: near to which is Gaba, “the city of horse-men,” so called from its being a settlement for the horsemen discharged by king Herod. On the south, Samaria and Scythopolis, as far as the stream of the Jordan, form their limits: towards the east, Hippene and Gadaris, Gaulanitis, and the frontiers of Agrippa’s kingdom: while Tyre and its dependencies constitute their northern boundary. Lower Galilee extends in length from Tiberias to Zabulon, adjacent to which, on the sea coast, is Ptolemais. In breadth it stretches from a village called Xaloth, lying in the Great Plain, to Bersabe; commencing from which is measured also the breadth of Upper Galilee, as far as the village of Baca, which bounds the land of the Tyrians. In length, it runs from Thella, a village in the vicinity of the Jordan, to Meroth.

2. These two Galilees, so considerable in extent, and encircled by so many alien nations, have uniformly resisted every hostile attempt. For the Galilæans, trained to war from their infancy, and in every quarter numerous, were always as little deficient in courage, as was their territory in population; inasmuch as it was, throughout, rich in soil and pasturage, producing every variety of tree, and













inviting by its productiveness even those who have the least inclination for agriculture. It is all, accordingly, cultivated by the inhabitants, no part of it lying idle. The towns, also, are numerous, and the multitude of villages so crowded with men, owing to the fecundity of the soil, that the smallest of them contains above fifteen thousand inhabitants.

3. In fine, even though it be granted that Galilee is inferior to Peræa in extent, it must still be thought preferable in point of resources; for it is tilled throughout, and every where productive: whereas Peræa, much larger indeed, is generally desert and rugged, and too wild for the growth of delicate fruits. In some parts, however, the soil is loamy and prolific, and trees of various kinds cover the plains; but the olive-tree, the vine, and the palm-tree, are those principally cultivated. It is also sufficiently irrigated by mountain-streams; and—should these in the dog-days fail—by ever-flowing springs. In length, it extends from Machærus to Pella: in breadth, from Philadelphia to the Jordan: its northern districts being bounded, as we have already said, by Pella; and those on the west, by the river. The land of Moab forms its southern limit; while Arabia and Silbonitis, with Philadelphia and Gerasa, constitute its eastern boundary.

4. The district of Samaria lies between Judæa and Galilee. Commencing at a village by name Ginæa, situate in the Great Plain, it terminates at the territory of the Acrabatenes. In its natural characteristics it differs in no respect from Judæa; hills and plains being interspersed through both: the soil, moreover, being arable, and extremely fertile, richly wooded, and amply supplied with fruits, both wild and cultivated. Though by no means copiously irrigated by nature, both are refreshed by frequent rains. The running water is every where extremely sweet; and owing to an abundance of good pasture, the cattle yield more milk than those in other districts. And what affords the most unerring criterion of excellence and fertility—both districts teem with men.

5. On the confines of these, and terminating Judæa towards the north, lies the village of Anuath Borceos. The southern portions of Judæa, if it be measured lengthways, end at a village adjoining the frontiers of Arabia, to which the Jews, who reside there, give the name of Jardan. In breadth it reaches from the river Jordan to Joppa. In its very centre lies the city of Jerusalem; for which reason some, not inaptly, have styled that city “the navel” of the country. Nor is Judæa, withal, destitute of such amenities as the sea affords; its maritime districts extending as far as Ptolemais. It

is divided into eleven allotments, whereof Jerusalem, as the seat of royalty, is supreme, exalted over all the adjacent region, as the head over the body. The residue, subordinate in rank, are distributed into districts. Goplina is second; next Acrabatta; then, severally, in order, Thamna, and Lydda, and Ammaus, and Pella, and Idumæa, and Engaddi, and Herodium, and Jericho. After these, Jamnia and Joppa, preside over the parts around; and beyond these are the territories of Gamalitis and Gaulanitis, Batanæa, and Trachonitis, which also form portions of Agrippa's dominions. Beginning at Mount Lebanon, and the fountains of the Jordan, this latter district extends in breadth to the Lake of Tiberias, and in length from a village, called Arpha, as far as Julias. Its inhabitants are a mixture of Jews and Syrians. Thus have we, with all possible brevity, described Judæa, and the country circumjacent.

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#### CHAPTER IV.

1. A DETACHMENT of a thousand horse, and six thousand foot, under the command of Placidus the tribune, formed the force sent by Vespasian to the relief of Sepphoris. The troops, after encamping on the Great Plain, were divided—the infantry being quartered in the town for its protection, the cavalry continuing in their intrenchments. This force, making frequent excursions from both points, overran the surrounding country, and caused great annoyance to the army of Josephus, which remained quiescent, by ravaging the districts outside the walls of the several towns, and driving back all who ventured out.

Josephus, however, assaulted the city, hoping to reduce the place; which, previous to his secession from the Galilæans, he had fortified so strongly, that its capture would have been a difficult achievement even to the Romans. He was in consequence frustrated in his expectations; having found himself unable either to compel, or persuade, the Sepphorites to surrender. Thus he provoked more active hostilities against the country, and neither day nor night did the Romans, in resentment at this attempt, cease to lay waste their plains, carrying off the property in the district, killing invariably all capable of bearing arms, and enslaving the more feeble. Hence was Galilee filled from end to end with fire and carnage, nor was it granted

immunity from any species of suffering or calamity : for there was but one refuge for the distressed—the cities fortified by Josephus.

2. Now Titus, having passed over from Achaia to Alexandria more quickly than was usual in the winter season, took command of the force for which he had been sent, and proceeding by forced marches, soon arrived at Ptolemais. Here meeting his father—to the two legions under his orders, the highly distinguished fifth and tenth, he united that brought by himself—the fifteenth. These were followed by eighteen cohorts. There came five, also, with one squadron of cavalry, from Cæsarea, and five other squadrons from Syria. Of the cohorts, ten had each a thousand infantry : the remaining thirteen, six hundred foot, and a hundred and twenty horse. A considerable number of auxiliaries, likewise, had been assembled, furnished by the kings, Antiochus, Agrippa, and Sohemus, who severally contributed two thousand foot-archers, and a thousand horse. Malchus, the Arabian, sent a thousand cavalry, and five thousand infantry, most of whom were bowmen : so that the entire army, horse and foot, including the royal contingents, amounted to nearly sixty thousand men, exclusive of servants, who were extremely numerous, but, on account of their military training, ought not to be reckoned apart from the available force ; constantly engaged, as they were, in their masters' exercises during peace, and sharing danger with them in war ; so that neither in skill, nor prowess, were they second to any but them.

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## CHAPTER V.

1. HERE one cannot but admire the foresight of the Romans in providing themselves with servants, useful not only in the ordinary offices of life, but also in war. And indeed, if we look into the other branches of their military discipline, we shall have proof, that they have acquired an empire so extensive by military conduct, not received it as the gift of fortune. For it is not actual war which gives them the first lesson in arms ; nor at the call of necessity alone do they move their hands, having ceased to use them in time of peace : but, as if they had grown with their weapons, they have no truce with exercises, no waiting for occasions. These trainings differ in nothing from the veritable efforts of combat ; every soldier being kept in daily practice, and acting with the energy of those really engaged in war. Hence the perfect ease with which they sustain the conflict. For

no confusion displaces them from their accustomed order : no panic disturbs ; no labour exhausts. It follows, therefore, as a certain result, that they invariably conquer those not similarly trained : nor would he err, who should style their exercises bloodless conflicts, and their conflicts bloody exercises. Neither can they fall an easy prey to the sudden attack of an enemy ; for at whatever point they may invade a hostile territory, they never engage in battle until they have fortified their camp. This they construct not at random, or irregularly ; nor do all, or without order, take a share in the work : but should the surface be unequal, it is levelled, and the camp is squared by admeasurement ; and then a body of artificers follows, with tools for building.

2. The interior of the camp they set apart for tents. In its exterior the circuit presents the aspect of a wall, furnished with towers at equal distances ; in the intervals between which are disposed scorpions, catapults, stone-projectors, and every propelling engine, all ready to hurl missiles.

Four gates are constructed, one in each side of the surrounding wall, with level approaches, for the easy admission of beasts of burden, and wide enough for a sally in case of emergency. The camp, inside, is conveniently distributed into streets. In the middle are the tents of the officers, and in the centre of these that of the commander-in-chief, closely resembling a temple. Thus, as it were on a sudden, a city appears to spring up, with its market-place, and a quarter for handicraft trades, and seats, also, for the centurions and divisional commanders, where they adjudicate whenever differences occur. The outer wall is raised, and all within completed quicker than thought, owing to the number and skill of the workmen ; and if occasion demand, a trench is drawn round outside, in depth four cubits, and the same in breadth.

3. Thus protected, they lodge in tents by companies, with quietness and decorum. All their other business also is transacted with order and precision. The duty of procuring wood, corn, and water, as required, is imposed on the several companies in turn ; nor is it optional with each when he shall sup or dine ; but all take their meals together. Their times for sleeping, keeping watch, and rising, are notified by trumpet : nor is any thing done without command.

At the first dawn the soldiery wait, severally, on their respective centurions ; and these on the tribunes, to salute them ; with whom all the superior officers visit the commander-in-chief, who gives them, according to custom, the watchword, and other orders, to carry to their subordinates. This also they do in action, conveying themselves

with promptitude, wherever required, and moving with unbroken ranks, whether in the charge or retreat.

4. When they are to break up from their encampment, the trumpet gives the signal, and all are on the alert. At the signal given they strike their tents, and everything is got ready for their departure. The trumpets again sound for packing their equipments, on which they put their baggage with all haste upon the mules and other beasts of burden, and stand ready to spring forward, as if from a starting-post. They then set fire to their camp, as well because they could with ease again construct it there, as lest it should at any time prove useful to the enemy. A third time the trumpets, in like manner, give the signal for departure, hastening those who from any cause may be delaying, so that none be absent from the ranks. The herald, standing on the right of the commander, then thrice demands, in their native tongue, whether they are ready for war; to which they as often answer, with loud and animated voice, "Ready," almost anticipating the question; and, inspired with a kind of martial enthusiasm, they lift up their right hand simultaneously with the shout.

5. Then going forth, they proceed all silently and with order, each keeping his own place in the array, as in battle. The infantry are protected by breast-plates and helmets, and wear a sword on either side; that on the left is much the longer, the other, on the right, not exceeding a span. The picked body of infantry, which attend the general, bear a lance and shield; the remainder of the phalanx a javelin and oblong buckler, a saw and a basket, a mattock and a hatchet, a strap of leather, an edged hook, and a chain, with provisions for three days; so that the foot-soldier differs but little from the baggage mules.

The cavalry have a long sword on the right side, a long lance in hand, and a shield, lying obliquely on the horse's flank. In a quiver are carried three or more darts, with broad heads, not inferior in size to spears. They all wear helmets, moreover, and breastplates, like the infantry. Those chosen to attend the general differ not in a single weapon from the regular cavalry. The legion selected by lot uniformly leads.

6. Thus the Romans march and repose, and such are their several kinds of arms. In battle nothing is done unadvisedly, or precipitately; but consideration invariably precedes every operation, and actions follow the decision. Hence they very rarely err; and if they stumble, the mistake is easily rectified.

They deem, moreover, that mischances resulting from previous consultation are preferable to success, arising merely from the chance of



fortune; inasmuch as fortuitous advantage seduces into negligence: whereas, should aught untoward befall, deliberation suggests a useful caution against its recurrence. Besides, accidental successes are not to be ascribed to him who obtains them; while if, contrary to expectation, disasters happen, it is a consolation that the subject had been duly considered.

7. By their exercises in arms they invigorate not their bodies alone, but their minds. Fear, also, is an element in their training. For their regulations not only punish capitally the desertion of a post, but even a slight remissness in duty. And their officers are still more revered than their laws; inasmuch as, by rewards to the deserving, they outweigh the imputation of cruelty towards those who are punished.

Their prompt obedience to their officers is such, that, while it is ornamental in peace, in the field it moves, as one body, the whole army: so simple is the construction of their ranks: so easily performed are their evolutions: so quick their ears to orders, their eyes to signs, and their hands to deeds. Hence they are uniformly swift to execute orders, and very slow to sink under suffering: nor is it on record that they have ever been daunted, while in array, whether by numbers, stratagem, difficulty of position, or yet by fortune; for they always rely more firmly upon endurance than upon fortune.

Where counsel, therefore, precedes action, and so efficient an army seconds deliberation, what wonder, if, on the east—the Euphrates, on the west—the ocean, on the south—the most fertile region of Libya, and on the north—the Danube and the Rhine, be the limits of the empire? For it may, with propriety, be said, that the possessions are inferior to those who have acquired them.

8. These particulars I have detailed, not so much with the view of extolling the Romans, as to console those whom they have vanquished, and to deter the disaffected. And it may happen that those of my polite readers, who are unacquainted with the subject, may derive information from this account of the Roman military discipline. I now return whence I have digressed.

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## CHAPTER VI.

1. VESPASIAN, with his son Titus, was detained some time in Ptolemais, organizing his forces. Placidus, while over-running

Galilee, put to the sword vast numbers of his captives, the feebler and dispirited portion of the population; but remarking that the fighting men invariably fled to the cities fortified by Josephus, he advanced against the strongest of them—Jotapata; expecting, by a sudden assault, to carry it with little difficulty, and thus acquire for himself a high reputation with those generals, while he would at the same moment be furthering their future operations. For he did not doubt but that the other towns—were this, the strongest of them all, reduced—would be led, through fear, to surrender.

In this hope, however, he was much deceived. For the people of Jotapata, aware of his approach, lay in wait for him in front of the town; and being in large force, prepared for battle, and eager to engage, as for their endangered city, wives, and children, they fell unexpectedly upon the Romans, and quickly routed them. Many of the Romans were wounded, but seven only were killed, owing to the unbroken order of their retreat, and the superficial nature of their wounds; since their bodies were in every part protected, and the Jews threw their missiles from a distance, rather than venture into close combat—the one party being ill defended, the other fully accoutred. Of the Jews three fell, and a few were wounded. Placidus, finding himself too weak for an attempt on the town, retreated.

2. Vespasian himself, however, intent on the invasion of Galilee, withdrew from Ptolemais, disposing his army for the march according to the Roman usage. The light-armed auxiliaries, and the archers, he ordered in advance, to repel any sudden onset of the enemy, and to explore those woods, which were suspected, and suited for ambuscade. Next came the heavy-armed division of the Romans, foot and horse. Following these were ten men, drafted from every hundred, carrying their baggage, and the camp-measures: and in their rear the pioneers, to remove the irregularities of the road, level what was rugged, and cut down the obstructing woods, lest the troops should be harassed by obstacles on the route. Behind these he arranged his own baggage, with that of the officers under his command; and protected it by a considerable corps of cavalry. He then appeared himself, attended by a select body of infantry and cavalry, and by the spearmen. Next advanced the cavalry belonging to the legion; for to each legion were attached a hundred and twenty horse. These were followed by the mules, carrying the besieging engines, and the other machines: and these again by the general officers, and the prefects of the cohorts, with the tribunes, accompanied by a chosen body of troops.

Next were seen the ensigns surrounding the eagle, which is at the

head of every Roman legion—the eagle, at once the king of all birds, and the bravest; hence it seems to them the symbol of empire, and an omen of conquest over whomsoever they may attack. These sacred emblems preceded the trumpeters, after whom came up the phalanx formed in rank, six abreast, attended by a centurion, who, according to custom, superintended the order of march. The infantry were succeeded by the whole of the servants of the respective legions, conducting the mules and other beasts of burden, which carried the soldiers' baggage. After the legions came the crowd of sutlers, followed, for security, by a rearguard composed of light and heavy armed infantry, and a considerable body of cavalry.

3. Proceeding with his army in this order, Vespasian reached the frontiers of Galilee. Here he encamped; and curbing the troops, who were eager for action, made a display of his force with a view to strike terror into the enemy, and, ere the sword was drawn, give them time for repentance. He withal prepared for the siege of the strongholds. And, in truth, the appearance of the general awakened regret for their revolt in many, and alarm in all. Accordingly, those who were encamped with Josephus at a town called Garis, not far from Sepphoris, on learning that the war was approaching, and the Romans on the point of attacking them, dispersed in flight, not only before a blow was struck, but ere they had even seen their foes.

Josephus was left alone with a handful of men, and having perceived that his force was by no means sufficient to await the onset of his opponents—that the spirits of the Jews were sunk—and that the greater part would gladly, if they thought they could place confidence in them, enter into terms,—had already entertained fears for the issue of the contest, and now deemed it prudent to remove as far as possible from danger. Accordingly, with those who still adhered to him, he fled to Tiberias.

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## CHAPTER VII.

1. VESPASIAN having arrived before the city of Gadara, carried it on the first assault, having come upon it when it was destitute of an effective force. On entering the town, he put to death without distinction all from youth upward: the Romans showing compassion to none of adult age, as well from hatred to the nation, as in recollection of the outrages committed against Cestius. The city itself he reduced











to ashes, all the hamlets and small towns around sharing its fate. Some of these had been totally deserted: the inhabitants of the others he enslaved.

2. The arrival of Josephus in the city which he had selected for safety, filled it with alarm; for the Tiberians felt assured, that, had he not utterly despaired of the contest, he would not have fled. Nor, in this respect, did they mistake his views. For he saw the downward tendency of Jewish affairs, and knew that but one means of preservation remained—a total change of purpose. Yet, though personally he expected pardon from the Romans, he would, notwithstanding, have suffered a thousand deaths, rather than betray his country, and, by dishonouring the command entrusted to him, live in prosperity among those against whom he had been commissioned to take the field. He determined therefore to write to the party in power at Jerusalem an accurate statement of the posture of affairs, so as that he might neither, by exaggerating the strength of the enemy, be in the sequel upbraided with timidity, nor, by underrating it, inspire them with confidence, when perhaps inclined to repent: in order that, should they choose to enter into terms, they might return him an answer to that effect without delay; or, resolving on hostilities, send him a force able to cope with the Romans. Having written to this effect, he immediately forwarded his letter by a courier to Jerusalem.

3. Vespasian having heard that a large body of the enemy had fled to Jotapata, and that it was, moreover, their strongest sally-port, impatient to reduce it, despatched both horse and foot to level the road, which, being mountainous and rocky, was difficult even for infantry, but impracticable for cavalry. In four days the work was completed, and a spacious high-way opened for the troops. On the fifth, which was the twenty-first of the month Artemisius, Josephus withdrew from Tiberias, and, making his way to Jotapata, revived the drooping spirits of the Jews. The welcome tidings of this change of position were communicated to Vespasian by a deserter, who urged him to attack the town, as its capture would seal the fate of the whole of Judæa, could he with it secure Josephus.

This intelligence Vespasian caught at as in the highest degree auspicious, regarding it as ordered by Providence, that the man, reputed the most sagacious of his opponents, should enter a self-selected prison. He, therefore, immediately detached Placidus with a thousand horse, accompanied by Ebutius the decurion, an officer distinguished alike for gallantry and prudence, with orders to invest the town, lest Josephus should clandestinely effect his escape.

4. The next day Vespasian followed with his whole force; and,

marching until evening, arrived before Jotapata. Leading his army to the north quarter, he encamped on an eminence seven furlongs distant from the town, endeavouring to place himself as fully in view of the enemy as possible, in order to strike them with terror; and with such alarm were the Jews instantly seized, that no one ventured beyond the walls.

The Romans, however, were disinclined to an immediate attack, as they had marched during the entire day; but they encompassed the city with a double file of infantry, forming, exterior to this, a third line of cavalry, thus closing up every egress. This, as it cut off all hope of escape, stimulated the Jews to deeds of intrepid daring; for, in war, nothing is a stronger incentive to valour than necessity.

5. An attack being made next day, the Jews, who remained on the spot, and had encamped before the wall, at first gallantly faced the Romans. But when Vespasian, having brought up against them the archers, the slingers, and the whole host that fought with missiles, gave orders to charge, while he himself, with the infantry, pushed up the acclivity in that quarter where an impression might with little difficulty be made upon the wall, Josephus, alarmed for the town, dashed forward, and with him the whole Jewish force. Falling in a compact body on the Romans, they drove them from the ramparts, and performed many feats of prowess and intrepidity.

But not less than they inflicted, did they suffer in return. For, in the same degree as despair of safety stimulated the Jews, did dread of disgrace urge on the Romans. These were armed by skill and strength: those were led on by wild impetuosity. Having fought through the entire day, the combatants were parted by night. On the side of the Romans many were wounded, and thirteen killed: of the Jews seventeen fell, but the wounded amounted to six hundred.

6. On the day following, the Jews, sallying out, again attacked the Romans, and fought with much greater vigour, having become more confident from the unexpected success of their resistance on the preceding day, yet finding the Romans withal more eager for the combat; for they were inflamed to fury by shame, deeming it defeat not instantly to conquer. Until the fifth day the assaults of the besiegers were unintermitted, while the sallies of the people of Jotapata, and their attacks from the ramparts, were gallantly maintained:—the Jews were undismayed at the strength of their foes; the Romans undeterred by the difficulties they encountered.

7. Jotapata is almost one entire precipice. On the other sides it is surrounded by ravines of such extreme depth, that, in looking down, the sight fails before it can fathom them; while on the north alone it

is accessible, whereon the city is built in a sinuous line, on the slope of the mountain. This side, Josephus, when fortifying the city, had encompassed with a wall, to prevent an enemy from occupying the summit above it. Concealed by the mountains which encircled it, the town, until you came upon it, was totally invisible. Such strength had Jotapata.

8. Vespasian, contending not only with the nature of the place, but with the daring valour of its defenders, resolved to prosecute the siege with vigour: and, having assembled the officers under his command, he held a council touching the attack. It being determined to raise a mound on the accessible quarter of the wall, he sent out his whole army to procure materials; and the surrounding mountains being stripped, and timber with stones in vast quantities collected, some, as a protection from the darts discharged from above, extended hurdles over the works, and beneath them constructed the mounds, little if at all impeded by the missiles from the ramparts; whilst others tore up the neighbouring hillocks, and brought a constant supply of earth; and the troops being divided into three sections, no one was idle. The Jews, meanwhile, cast down on their defences huge rocks from the ramparts, and every species of missile; and though they did not penetrate, the crash was so loud and terrific as to impede the workmen.

9. Vespasian, having disposed in a semicircle the projectile engines—of which there were in all a hundred and sixty—gave orders to aim at the men stationed on the wall. At the same time the catapults vomited forth a whizzing storm of lances; and rocks of a talent weight were thrown by the stone-projectors, with fire and dense showers of arrows, which not only rendered the ramparts inaccessible to the besieged, but as much of the interior, also, as came within their range: for the host of Arabian archers, with all the javelin-throwers and slingers, simultaneously with the machines, poured in their volleys.

The Jews, however, though checked in their defence from the ramparts, were not inactive; but sallying out in parties, as in predatory warfare, they tore down the coverings of the workmen, and wounded them when thus unprotected; and wherever these fell back, they threw down the mound, and set fire to the palisades and hurdles. This continued until Vespasian, perceiving that the intervals between the works were the occasion of this disaster, as the vacant spaces afforded opening for attack, united the defences; and his forces, at the same time, being formed into close line, these irruptions were repressed.

10. The mound being now raised, and brought almost to a level with the battlements, Josephus, thinking it deplorable if he could not



devise counter measures for the preservation of the town, assembled the workmen, and directed them to increase the height of the wall. On their asserting that it would be impossible to build, whilst they were assailed with such showers of missiles, he invented a covering for them of the following description. Having ordered piles to be fixed, on these he stretched the raw hides of oxen, that they might receive the stones from the engines, yielding withal to the stroke; while the other missiles would glance off from them, and the fire be checked by their moisture. These he placed before the builders, who, thus screened, wrought in safety day and night at the wall, until it attained an altitude of twenty cubits. They then erected on it a number of towers, and defended the whole by a strong breast-work. This greatly disheartened the Romans, who already fancied themselves within the town; and they were struck with dismay at the ingenuity of Josephus, and the intrepidity of the besieged.

11. Vespasian was exasperated as well by the subtlety of this stratagem, as by the gallantry of the people of Jotapata. For, inspired with fresh confidence by this bulwark, they sallied out upon the Romans, and maintained, in bands, daily conflicts with them, employing every artifice used by predatory bands, pillaging what came in their way, and destroying the other works with fire. At length Vespasian, restraining his troops from battle, determined to sit down before the city, and starve it into a surrender; concluding that the besieged would either be compelled by want of necessaries to sue for mercy, or, obstinately holding out to the last, be consumed by famine. He further expected to find them more easy to deal with in the conflict, should he, after remitting his attacks, again fall upon them, when wasted by hunger. He therefore directed all the different outlets to be guarded.

12. The besieged, meanwhile, had abundance of corn, and of every other provision, except salt. There was, however, a scarcity of water, as, having no fountain in the city, the inhabitants supplied themselves with rain-water. Now it rains but lightly, if at all, during the summer, and, as they were besieged at that season, they were filled with dismay at the bare apprehension of thirst, and became deeply dejected, as if water had already entirely failed. For Josephus, seeing the city abound with other necessaries, and that there was no want of courage to defend it:—wishing, besides, to protract the siege beyond the expectation of the Romans—distributed water by measure. But to have it thus dealt out they considered more grievous than total want; and the deprivation of liberty to drink freely, only incited their craving: so that their spirits sank as if they



had been already reduced to the last extremity of thirst. Nor had their situation in this respect escaped the Romans. For, from the opposite quarter they observed them over the wall, flocking together to one spot, and there receiving the water by measure; and, directing their javelin-projectors against that place, they slew many.

13. Vespasian, indeed, hoped that the reservoirs would ere long be exhausted, and that they would be compelled to surrender the city. But Josephus, with a view to crush this hope, ordered a number of the people to steep their garments, and hang them out round the battlements, so that the whole wall suddenly streamed. On this, dejection and dismay seized the Romans, who beheld so much water thrown away as in scorn by those whom they supposed not to have where-withal to drink. Their general, accordingly, despairing of reducing the city by want, again had recourse to force of arms. This the Jews ardently desired: for, without hope alike for themselves and the city, they preferred death in battle to famine and drought.

14. Josephus, however, in addition to this stratagem, devised yet another for obtaining supplies. By the bed of a mountain-torrent, which ran along the western side of the ravine, and which, from its ruggedness and difficulty, had been neglected by the guards, he sent messengers, with letters to such of the Jews outside as he wished, and received from them, in return, abundance of every thing that was deficient in the city. These messengers he directed, when coming in, to creep, for the most part, past the sentries, and to cover their backs with sheepskins; in order, that, should they be observed by night, they might present the appearance of dogs; but the guards at length detected the artifice, and secured the outlet.

15. At this period, Josephus, sensible that the city could not long hold out, and that his own safety would be endangered should he remain, concerted measures for flight in conjunction with the leading men. But perceiving his intention, the people poured around him, entreating him not to disregard those whose sole dependence was on him: for there was still a hope of safety for the town, as, should he continue with them, every one would cheerfully maintain the struggle for his sake; and should they be taken, his presence would be a comfort. It became him, therefore, neither to fly from his foes, nor to desert his friends; nor to spring as from a storm-tossed ship, which he had entered in a calm:—for thus he would overwhelm the city, as no one would dare longer to oppose the enemy, should he withdraw, by whose means alone their courage could be called forth.

16. Josephus, dissembling his anxiety for his own safety, replied, that it was for their sakes he retired. For, while they were safe, his

presence could not much avail them; whereas, should they be captured, his ruin would be a needless addition; while, were he disengaged from the siege, he might render them the most essential service outside; since he would with all haste assemble the Galilæans from the district, and, by hostilities in another quarter, draw off the Romans from their walls. He could not see in what his remaining could be useful to them, under present circumstances, except to stimulate the Romans to press the siege, inasmuch as his capture was their chief object; whereas, if informed that he had fled, they would naturally relax their efforts against the town.

Unmoved, however, by these arguments, the multitude only clung to him the more closely. Children, and old men, and women with infants in their arms, fell down in tears before him, and embraced and held his feet, imploring him with bitter lamentations to stay and share their fortune: not from envy of his safety, as it appears to me, but in hope of their own. For they thought that no misfortune could befall them, if Josephus continued with them.

17. Should he accede withal, it would, he thought, be ascribed to their solicitations: while, if he attempted to stir, a prison awaited him. At the same time, compassion for their distress broke down utterly his desire to leave them. He resolved, therefore, to remain; and, converting the common despair of the city into a weapon, "Now is the time," he cried, "to begin the struggle, when hope of safety there is none. It is honourable to exchange life for glory in the performance of some noble enterprise, which will be handed down to the memory of remote generations." Thus saying, he proceeded to action; and sallying out with the most effective, he dispersed the sentries, and, pushing forward to the Roman camp, tore in pieces the skins which sheltered those on the mounds, and threw fire into the works. In like manner, during the next, and following, and for many successive days and nights, he carried on the contest indefatigably.

18. In consequence of the sufferings of the Romans from these sallies—for they were ashamed at being worsted by the Jews, and even when they repulsed them, they were impeded in the pursuit by their heavy armour, while their opponents, effecting their purpose, ere the Romans could retaliate, escaped into the town—Vespasian directed the troops to avoid their attacks, and not to engage with men bent on death. "For nothing," he said, "imparts greater energy than despair; and their vehemence will be extinguished, if deprived of its object, as fire without fuel. It becomes even the Romans to conquer with safety, since they war not from necessity, but for acquisitions." Henceforward he repelled the Jews chiefly by the

Arabian archers, the Syrian slingers, and the stone-throwers. Nor were the many projectile engines at rest. The Jews, suffering severely from these, gave way: but when once inside the play of the far-ranging engines, they pressed furiously on the Romans, and fought, prodigal of life and limb—one party in succession relieving another, when it was exhausted.

19. Vespasian deeming himself—from the time thus consumed, and from the sallies of the enemy—to be besieged in his turn, determined, as the mounds were now approaching the ramparts, to bring up the Ram. This is an immense beam, resembling the mast of a ship. It is armed at the extremity with a dense mass of iron, forged in figure of a ram's head, whence it derives its name. It is suspended with ropes by the middle, like the rod of a balance, from another beam, which is supported on both sides by strong uprights. Drawn back by a number of men, and by their united strength again driven forward, it batters the wall with the projecting iron. And there is no tower so strong, or wall so thick, as, though it may resist its first strokes, to withstand its continued play. To this expedient the Roman general had recourse in his anxiety to carry the city by storm, inasmuch as the activity of the Jews had rendered the blockade a hurtful measure.

The Romans now advancing their catapults, and other engines, in order to reach those on the wall, who were endeavouring to arrest their progress, commenced operations. The archers and slingers, in like manner, drew up nearer; and the Jews, in consequence, daring no longer to show themselves on the ramparts, another body of the Romans brought up the Ram, protected above by a continuous line of hurdles and skins, for security both to themselves and the engine. At the first stroke the wall was shaken, when a fearful shriek was raised by those inside, as if they were already captured.

20. Josephus, seeing the Romans constantly playing upon the same spot, and that the wall was all but a ruin, devised a method of averting for a little the force of the engine. He ordered sacks filled with chaff to be let down before the place on which they observed the ram uniformly impelled, that they might cause the head to swerve, and, yielding to the stroke, neutralize its violence. This occasioned the Romans serious delay; as, wherever they turned the engine, those above attended with their sacks, which they submitted to the strokes; so that the blow being repelled, the wall sustained no injury; until the Romans, having in turn recourse to long poles with edged hooks at the extremities, cut away the sacks.

The Ram having thus regained its efficiency, and the wall, which

had been recently built, already giving way, Josephus and his comrades hastened to defend themselves with fire, as a last resource; and, snatching up whatever combustible matter was at hand, sallied out from three different points, and set fire to the machines, hurdles, and mounds of the besiegers. The Romans, thrown into consternation by this act of daring, made scarcely any effort at resistance, being outstripped in the rescue by the rapidity of the flames; for the materials being dry and inflammable, and intermixed, moreover, with bitumen, pitch, and brimstone, the fire flew through them swifter than thought, and what had cost the besiegers much labour was in one hour consumed.

21. At this crisis a Jew presented himself, who is worthy of mention and remembrance. He was the son of Samæas, and bore the name of Eleazar; Saab in Galilee, being the place of his nativity. Lifting up an enormous stone, he threw it from the wall upon the Ram with such force, as to break off the head of the machine. He then leaped down, and taking it up from the midst of the foe, with the utmost fearlessness conveyed it to the wall: but being a mark, meanwhile, to the whole hostile army, and receiving their strokes in his unprotected body, he was transfixed with five darts. Nothing moved by these, he climbed the battlements, where he stood conspicuous to all in his intrepid deed: then, writhing under his wounds, he fell headlong with the Ram. Two brothers, Netiras and Philip, Galilæans also, from the village of Ruma, distinguished themselves as the bravest next to him. Dashing out on the men of the tenth legion, they attacked them with such impetuous violence, that they broke through their ranks, and put all to flight against whom they directed their efforts.

22. These were succeeded by Josephus and his party, who, snatching up a quantity of ignited matter, set fire to the machines and penthouses, together with the works of the fifth and tenth legions, which had been repulsed; whereupon the other Romans, anticipating their attack, buried the implements, and all combustible materials; and towards evening, having raised the Ram, they again brought it to bear upon that quarter where the wall had been already shaken. On this occasion one of the defenders of the town struck Vespasian with a dart, near the sole of the foot, and wounded him slightly, the distance having exhausted the missile. The incident, however, caused the utmost confusion among the Romans. For those near him being disturbed at the blood, a report spread through the army that Vespasian was wounded. Multitudes, abandoning the siege in consternation and terror, crowded round the general. Foremost of all was Titus, deeply alarmed for his father; so that the soldiery were dis-

tressed alike by their affection for the general, and by the anguish of his son. With perfect ease, however, did the father repress the fears of his son, and the tumult of the army. Rising above his sufferings, he hastened to show himself to all who were alarmed on his account, and thus roused them to more strenuous exertions against the Jews. For each, as an avenger of the general, was eager to lead the way to danger; and, with shouts of mutual encouragement, they rushed on toward the wall.

23. But though numbers were beaten down, one on another, by the catapults and stone-projectors, Josephus and his men still maintained their post upon the battlements, and with fire, and sword, and stones, assailed those who, sheltered by the hurdles, worked the Ram. But they effected little or nothing, and fell without intermission, as they stood in full view of those whom they could not themselves see. For, conspicuous in the glare of their own fire, they formed as certain a mark to the enemy as in the daytime; and as the machines were not discernible in the distance, it was difficult to avoid their discharges. By the force of the scorpions and catapults, channels were opened through the dense files; while the stones, driven whizzing from the machine, carried away the battlements, and broke off the corners of the towers. And there was no body of troops so firm, as not to be overthrown to the last rank by the violence and magnitude of the stones.

Of the power of the engine some idea may be formed from the events of that night. For, one of those who stood near Josephus upon the ramparts, being struck by a stone from it, his head was torn off, and his skull flung to the distance of three furlongs; and during the day a woman, in pregnancy, who had just come out of doors, being struck on the abdomen, the fœtus was hurled half a furlong, so great was the force of the ballista.

Terrific, indeed, was the clatter of the machines, and the whiz of the missiles. The dead bodies, too, sounded heavily one on another, as they were thrown down from the ramparts; and dreadful were the screams of the women from within, mingling in unison with the wailings of the dying from without. The whole scene of conflict in front of the city flowed with blood; and the wall became accessible over the heaps of slain. The mountains, echoing around, made the clamour more fearful; and nothing, on that night, was wanting to strike the eye or the ear with terror. Many of those who fought for Jotapata nobly fell: many, also, were wounded: and the morning watch had already arrived, ere the wall, assailed without intermission, at length yielded to the engines. The besieged, however, protecting their persons with their armour, threw up defences



opposite to the breach, before the scaling-planks were applied by the Romans.

24. At daybreak, Vespasian, having allowed his troops a short repose after the fatigues of the night, assembled them for the assault of the town. With the view of dislodging his opponents from the quarter where the breach had been effected, he ordered the bravest of the cavalry to dismount, and stationed them three deep over against the ruins, defended on all sides by their armour, and ready, with couched lances, to mount the breach the moment the planks were laid. In rear of these he marshalled the flower of the infantry. The remainder of the horse he extended opposite to the wall, along the whole mountain tract, to intercept any who might attempt to escape on the fall of the town: while, behind these, he stationed an encircling line of archers, with orders to have their arrows ready for a flight, the slingers in like manner, and those at the engines: others he directed to proceed with ladders, and apply them at the uninjured parts of the wall, that some, in the effort to repel them, might relinquish the defence of the breach, and the rest, overpowered by the storm of missiles, yield a passage to the legions.

25. Josephus, however, penetrating his design, stationed the fatigued and aged on the still remaining portion of the wall, as there they would receive no injury; but at the breach he placed the most athletic, and, in front of all, bodies of six men each, drawn by lot, whose dangers he himself shared, to bear the brunt of the assault. He further enjoined them to stop their ears at the shout of the legions, that they might not be terrified; and to receive the showers of missiles on bended knee, under cover of their shields, and then to fall back for a little, until the archers should have emptied their quivers: but, once the Romans had laid the planks, to dash forward upon them, and by means of their own preparations to meet the enemy, and fight, each, for the city, not as if it were to be saved, but to avenge it as if already fallen. "Place before your eyes," said he, "the aged and children about to be butchered, and your wives slaughtered by your foes in a manner hitherto unheard of; and summoning, in anticipation, the rage you would feel at these coming calamities, let it loose on those who are to inflict them."

26. It was thus that Josephus disposed his two divisions. When the helpless multitude in the town, women and children, beheld it girt with a triple phalanx—for no change, preparatory to the action, had been made in the former position of the troops—and the enemy sword in hand at the breach, the hills above them also glittering with arms, and the arrows of the Arabian archers on the string, they raised

one last shriek of capture, not as if its evils still impended, but as if they had already arrived. Josephus, however, shut up the women in their houses, lest by their pitiable cries they should unman their husbands' energies, and with threats commanded them to be silent. He then took the post allotted him in front of the breach, regardless of those applying the ladders in other quarters, but in that spot anxiously awaiting the storm of missiles.

27. The trumpeters of all the legions now sounded simultaneously, the troops raised a terrific war-cry, and the missiles, poured from all sides in concert, intercepted the light. Those with Josephus, remembering his injunctions, guarded their ears against the shout, and their bodies against the discharges. When the planks were laid, they rushed out along them, before those who applied them had set foot on them. Encountering others, however, who were sealing the walls, they displayed divers feats of strength and gallantry; endeavouring, in these extreme calamities, to prove themselves not inferior to those, who, not similarly endangered, valiantly opposed them: nor could they be torn from the Romans, until one or other had fallen.

But while they were becoming exhausted from unremitted exertions, and had none to relieve them, on the part of the Romans fresh troops succeeded to the fatigued, and when one was beaten down, another instantly supplied his place. Mutually animating each other, side linked to side, and protected overhead by their long shields, they formed an impenetrable band, and with their whole phalanx, as if it were one body, thrusting back the Jews, they were already mounting the ramparts.

28. Josephus in these difficulties taking for his counsellor Necessity, so fertile in invention when stimulated by despair, ordered boiling oil to be poured over those sheltered by the close-locked shields. This being quickly prepared, and in large quantities, for many were employed in the work, they poured it down upon the Romans on all sides, hurling with it, also, their vessels glowing with heat. This soon scattered their ranks; and the Romans, scalded, rolled headlong from the ramparts in excruciating agony. For the oil, insinuating itself readily under their armour, spread over the whole body from head to foot, feeding, not less eagerly than flame, upon their flesh: it being, from its nature, quickly heated, and slow in cooling, owing to its unctuousness. And as they were cased in their helmets and breastplates, there was no extrication from the scalding fluid, and, leaping and writhing in anguish, they fell from the scaling planks. Thus beaten back upon their own party, who

were pressing forward, they became an easy prey to those attacking them in rear.

29. But, amidst these disasters, fortitude forsook not the Romans, nor sagacity the Jews. The former, though they beheld their comrades suffering such torture from the oil poured upon them, rushed impetuously on those who poured it, each upbraiding the man before him, as impeding his exertions. The Jews, however, by a second stratagem, checked their ascent, pouring boiled fenugreek upon the planks, slipping on which the Romans were borne backwards: and those retreating, as those advancing, were alike unable to remain erect. Some were, accordingly, thrown on their backs on the scaling planks by their comrades, and were trodden to death; while many fell down upon the mound, and those who fell were dispatched by the Jews. For, when the Romans were prostrated, the Jews, disengaged from close combat, had leisure for their missiles. In the evening the general drew off the troops, who had suffered severely in the assault; not a few having fallen, and more having been wounded. Of the people of Jotapata six men were killed, and upwards of three hundred carried off wounded. This conflict took place on the twentieth of the month Dæsius.

30. When Vespasian would have consoled his troops under these misfortunes, he found them breathing revenge, and asking for action, rather than needing incitement. He therefore issued orders to raise the mounds higher, and construct three towers, each fifty feet high, covered on all sides with plates of iron, that from their weight they might be firm, and at the same time proof against fire. These he placed upon the mounds, furnishing them with javelin-throwers, and archers, and the lighter kinds of projectile engines; and in addition to these with the most able-bodied of the slingers, who, themselves screened from observation by their elevated post and the breastworks of the towers, discharged their weapons upon those on the ramparts whose position they overlooked.

The Jews, finding they could neither avoid missiles coming from above, nor defend themselves against an enemy unseen, and observing that the height of the towers could with difficulty be attained by a dart thrown with the hand, and that the iron with which they were cased rendered them inaccessible to fire, abandoned the wall, and sallied out against those engaged in the assault of the breach. Thus was the combat maintained by the besieged, many falling from day to day, unable withal to retaliate in an equal degree on their foes; whose approach they could only check at the risk of life.

31. At this period Vespasian dispatched Trajan, the commander of



the tenth legion, with a thousand horse and two thousand foot, against a town in the vicinity of Jotapata, called Japha; which, elated with the unexpected resistance of the people of that place, was in revolt. Trajan imagined that the taking of the city would be a work of difficulty; for, in addition to its natural strength, it was surrounded with a double rampart; but, seeing its inhabitants advancing towards him prepared for action, and giving them battle, after a short struggle he put them to flight. He pursued them so closely, that his troops broke into the first enclosure along with them; and when the fugitives rushed on to the second, their own townsmen, fearing lest the enemy might enter with them, closed the gates against them.

God it was, doubtless, who brought the wretched Galilæans into the power of the Romans, delivering up the great mass of the townspeople, excluded by the hands of their kindred, to the swords of murderous foes. For, while pressing to the gates in crowds, and earnestly calling on the sentinels by name, they were butchered in the midst of their supplications. The first wall the enemy had shut against them, the second their own friends; and thus enclosed, in one dense mass, between the two, they fell, many mutually transfixed by the swords of their comrades, many by their own, and multitudes by those of the Romans, without even the courage to defend themselves. For, besides the terror inspired by their enemies, the treachery of friends broke down their spirits. In fine, they died, cursing, not the Romans, but their own people, until of twelve thousand, for to that number they amounted, not one survived.

Trajan, thinking that the town was emptied of fighting men, or that, should a few be in it, fear would deter them from further attempts, reserved the capture for the general. He accordingly forwarded a message to Vespasian, requesting him to send his son Titus to complete the victory. The Roman general, conjecturing that some work still remained to be done, despatched his son with a force of five hundred horse, and a thousand foot. Advancing rapidly to the city, Titus drew up his army, and, stationing Trajan on the left wing, he took the right himself, and led the assault. The soldiers applying the ladders on all sides to the wall, the Galilæans, after a brief opposition from above, abandoned the ramparts. Titus and his men now dashed forward, and quickly occupied the town; but when he attacked those who rallied within, a sharp engagement ensued; for the able-bodied fell upon the Romans in the streets, while the women assailed them from the houses with whatever missile came in their way: and during six hours the conflict was maintained. The fighting men being at length consumed, the rest were massacred, some

in the open air, some in the houses, young and old promiscuously. Infants excepted, no male was left; and these, with the women, were carried into slavery. Those slain throughout the town, and in the previous action, amounted to fifteen thousand: the prisoners, to two thousand one hundred and thirty. This disaster befel the Galilæans on the twenty-fifth of the month Dæsius.

32. Nor did the Samaritans remain inexperienced in calamities. Having collected on the mountain called Garizim, which they hold sacred, they continued in that position; their assemblage, and the determined spirit evinced, giving menace of war. They had indeed been rendered no wiser by the misfortunes of their neighbours. Though alarmed at the successes of the Romans, they did (not), with reasonable fear, consider their own weakness, but were anxiously looking for an occasion to revolt. Vespasian, therefore, deemed it advisable to anticipate the movement, and at once cut off all attempts on their part. For, although Samaria had throughout been at all times occupied by garrisons, yet did the numbers now congregated, and their array, afford cause for uneasiness. He accordingly dispatched to the spot Cerealius, the prefect of the fifth legion, with six hundred horse, and three thousand foot. Considering it unsafe to ascend the hill, and join battle, the enemy being in great force above, he surrounded the entire base of the mountain with his troops, and kept guard over them during the whole of the day. As it happened—the Samaritans withal being in want of water, intense heat prevailed, for it was the summer season; and as the multitude were unprovided with necessaries, several expired that very day from thirst; while many, preferring slavery to such a fate, deserted to the Romans. Cerealius, learning from them that those who held their ground were broken down by their sufferings, ascended the mountain, and having disposed his force so as to encircle the enemy, he invited them to terms, and entreated them to preserve their lives; assuring them of safety, should they lay down their arms. Unable to prevail with them, however, he attacked and massacred them to a man—to the number of eleven thousand six hundred. This occurred on the twenty-seventh of the month Dæsius. With such calamities were the Samaritans visited.

33. The people of Jotapata, meanwhile, holding out, and beyond expectation bearing up under their miseries, on the forty-seventh day the mounds of the Romans over-topped the wall. On the same day an individual deserted to Vespasian, bringing intelligence that those in the town were few and enfeebled; and that, wasted by continued watching and incessant conflicts, they would be unable longer to resist a vigorous assault, and might even be taken by stratagem, if the

attempt were made. For, about the last watch, when they expected some respite from their sufferings, and when the morning slumber usually steals over the weary, the sentinels, he stated, dropped asleep; and he advised that at that hour the town should be attacked.

Vespasian, however, knowing the fidelity of the Jews towards one another, and their contempt of suffering, viewed him with suspicion; especially as, on a former occasion, a man of Jotapata, who was taken prisoner, had withstood every pang of the torture, and without betraying to his enemies, though tried by fire, a single secret of the besieged, was crucified—laughing at death. Probabilities, notwithstanding, attached credit to the traitor, and led to the belief that perhaps he was speaking truth. Vespasian, expecting to sustain no great injury from any artifice, ordered the man into custody, and marshalled his army for the capture of the town.

34. At the hour indicated, they approached the ramparts in silence; and Titus was the first to mount them, with one of the tribunes—Domitius Sabinus, leading on a few of the fifteenth legion. Having slain the sentries, they entered the city without noise, followed by one Sextus Cerealius a tribune, with Placidus, and the troops under their orders. But, though the citadel was taken, and the enemy moving to and fro in the heart of the town, and though day had already broke, the vanquished were still unconscious of the capture; for the greater proportion of them, worn out with fatigue, had sunk into a deep sleep, while a dense fog, which happened at the time to envelope the city, obscured the vision of those who suddenly started up, until the whole Roman army having poured in, they were roused but to feel their miseries, and received in death the first evidence of their capture.

The Romans, in remembrance of what they had suffered during the siege, exercised towards none either forbearance or compassion; but in one general massacre thrust the people headlong from the citadel. And here the difficulties of the place deprived of defence those still able to fight. Pressed together in the streets, and slipping on the declivities, they were overwhelmed by the tide of war which flowed down upon them. This drove to self-destruction many even of Josephus' chosen men. Perceiving that they could slay not even one of the Romans, they anticipated the death that awaited them from hostile hands, and, crowded together in the extreme quarter of the city, fell by their own.

35. Such of the watch, however, as had fled on the first discovery of the capture, ascended one of the northern towers, and for some time defended themselves; but being surrounded by crowds of foes,

they at last ceased their efforts, and cheerfully offered their necks to their assailants. The Romans might have boasted that the siege was bloodless in its termination, had not, after the capture of the town, a solitary individual fallen,—a centurion, by name Antonius. He died by treachery. One of those who had taken refuge in the caverns—and they were many in number—having requested Antonius to extend his right hand to him as a pledge of protection, and to help him to ascend, he unguardedly stretched it out; on which the other, seizing the opportunity, struck him from below in the groin with a spear, and killed him upon the spot.

36. On that day, therefore, the Romans slew all who showed themselves; and in the ensuing days, searched the hiding-places, making havoc of such as had fled to vaults and caverns, and dealing death to those of every age, except infants and women. Of these twelve hundred prisoners were collected. Those who perished at the capture, and in the previous conflicts, were computed at forty thousand. Vespasian then ordered the town to be razed, and reduced all its forts to ashes. Thus fell Jotapata, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Nero, on the new moon of Panemus.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

1. THE Romans, in their search for Josephus, stimulated both by their own resentment, and the earnest wish of the commander, as his capture would go far to decide the war, examined the bodies of the slain, and the secret recesses of the city. But, just as the town was taken, he, availing himself of some providential aid, withdrew himself from the midst of the enemy, and leaped into a deep pit, in the side of which was a capacious cavern, invisible to those above. Here he found forty persons of distinction concealed, provided with necessities sufficient to support them for a considerable time.

During the day, therefore, he lay hid, the enemy occupying all the posts, and, at night going up, he scrutinized every outlet of flight, and reconnoitred the sentries; but as every spot was so closely guarded on his account, that escape was impracticable, he again went down into the cavern. For two days he thus eluded pursuit; but, on the third, a woman of their party, being seized, gave information: on which Vespasian with eager haste despatched two tribunes, Pau-

linus and Gallicanus, with orders to offer Josephus protection, and to exhort him to leave his retreat.

2. Repairing to the spot, they strongly urged their proposal upon him, and pledged themselves for his safety. Their persuasions, however, were ineffectual; for he gathered his suspicions not from the natural mildness of those who addressed him, but from the penalties it was probable that so active a partizan must suffer. He feared, moreover, that they were inviting him solely to punishment, until Vespasian sent a third tribune, Nicanor, known to Josephus, and formerly his associate.

He, on his arrival, enlarged upon the natural lenity of the Romans towards those whom they had once subdued, assuring him that from his valour he was rather an object of admiration than of hatred to the officers; and that the general was anxious to win him over, not for punishment—for this he had it in his power to inflict even should he not come forth—but from a wish to save a brave man. He added, that Vespasian, had he purposed to entrap him, would not have commissioned a friend, that he might clothe with the fairest colours a transaction of the deepest infamy—perfidy with the mask of friendship; nor would he himself have consented to come for the purpose of deceiving a friend.

3. While Josephus was hesitating as to Nicanor's persuasions, the soldiery in their rage rushed forward to throw fire into the cavern; but the tribune, anxious to take the Jewish leader alive, restrained them. While Nicanor was earnestly pressing his point, Josephus heard the threats of the hostile crowd; and his nightly dreams, wherein God had foreshown to him the approaching calamities of the Jews, and what would befall the Roman sovereigns, occurred to him. As an interpreter of dreams he had the art of collecting the meaning of things delivered ambiguously by the Deity; nor was he unacquainted with the prophecies of the sacred books, being himself a priest, and a descendant of priests. Being at that moment under a divine influence, and suddenly recalling the fearful images of his recent dreams, he addressed to God a secret prayer, and said: "Since it seems good to Thee, who didst found the Jewish nation, now to level it with the dust, and transfer all its fortune to the Romans, and since Thou hast chosen my spirit to foretell future events, I surrender willingly to the Romans, and live: appealing to Thee, that I go over to them, not as a traitor, but as Thy minister."

4. Having spoken thus, he was about to deliver himself to Nicanor. But when the Jews, who had there taken refuge along with him, understood that he was yielding to the solicitations of the



Romans, they surrounded him in a body, crying out, "Deeply may our paternal laws groan! And well may God, who planted in the Jewish breast a soul that despises death, hide his face in indignation! Is life so dear to thee, Josephus, that thou canst endure to see the light in slavery? How soon hast thou forgotten thyself! How many hast thou persuaded to die for liberty! False, then, indeed, has been thy reputation for manliness, as well as for intelligence, if thou canst hope for safety from those whom thou hast so strenuously opposed, or consent to accept deliverance at their hands, even were it certain! But, though the fortune of the Romans has poured over thee some strange forgetfulness of thyself, we must take care of our country's glory. We will provide thee with right hand and sword. If thou diest voluntarily, thou shalt die as general of the Jews: but if involuntarily, as a traitor." While they spoke, they offered their swords, and threatened to slay him, if he gave himself up to the Romans.

5. Josephus, fearing an outbreak, and conceiving that it would be a betrayal of God's commands, should he die before he delivered his message, proceeded to reason with them philosophically respecting the emergency: "Why, my comrades, should we so thirst for our own blood? Or why do we set at variance such fond companions as soul and body? Who says that I am changed? But the Romans know whether this is true. It is honourable, I admit, to die in war, but only by the law of war, that is, by the act of the victors. Did I, then, shun the Roman blades, worthy indeed should I be of my own sword, and my own hand. But, if pity for an enemy enter their breasts, how much more justly should pity for ourselves enter ours! For it is the extreme of folly to do that to ourselves, to avoid which we quarrel with others. It is seemly to die for freedom. I admit it—but let it be in fair fight, and by the hands of those who would rob us of it. But now they neither meet us in battle, nor slay us. He is alike a dastard who wishes not to die when he ought, and wishes it when he ought not. What is it, then, from dread of which we decline surrendering to the Romans? Is it not death? And shall we, then, determine to inflict upon ourselves what we fear, when apprehended from enemies? But some one will urge the dread of servitude. We are now, forsooth, perfectly free! Another will say that it is noble to destroy oneself. Far from it—but most ignoble! Just as I would deem that pilot most dastardly who, dreading a tempest, voluntarily sinks his ship ere the storm sets in. But further: suicide is alien to the common nature of all animals, and an impiety against God, who created us. Nor, indeed, is there any living crea-

ture that dies premeditatedly, or by its own act ; for nature's law is strong in all—the wish to live. For this reason also those who attempt overtly to deprive us of life, we account enemies ; and those who attempt it clandestinely, we punish.

“ Do you not think that God is indignant, when man treats his gift with contempt ? From Him we have received our existence ;—and the period when we are no longer to exist, we refer to his will. Our bodies, indeed, are mortal to all, and composed of corruptible materials : but the soul, always immortal, and a portion of the Deity, dwells in those bodies. Now, should any one destroy, or misapply, what is deposited with him by man, he is esteemed wicked and faithless : and should any one cast out from his body what has been there deposited by God, do we suppose that he will elude Him whom he has wronged ?

“ Our laws, moreover, have determined, and justly, that fugitive slaves shall be chastised, even though they should have left worthless masters. And shall we, in fleeing from God, that best of masters, not be deemed impious ? Know you not, then, that they who depart this life according to the law of nature, repaying the loan received from God, when He who gave is pleased to require it, are surrounded with eternal honour ; that their houses and families are secure ; that their souls remain unspotted, and propitious to prayer, obtaining heaven's most holy abode, from whence, in the revolution of ages, they are again dismissed to inhabit pure bodies ? Whilst the souls of those whose hands have acted madly against themselves, a region of darker Hades receives ; and God, their father, visits on the offspring the iniquity of their parents. Hence this deed is hateful to God, and is punished by the wisest of lawgivers. Thus it is ordained among us, that those who destroy themselves shall be exposed unburied till sunset, although we think it right to inter even our enemies : while, among other nations, they order the right hand of suicides to be cut off, as having been armed against themselves ; thinking that, as the body was alien from the soul, so too was the hand from the body.

“ It behoves us, therefore, comrades, to entertain just views, and not, to human misfortunes, add impiety towards Him who created us. If we are to be saved, then, let us be saved ; for preservation is not inglorious, received from those who, on so many occasions, have had proof of our valour : if to die, death is honourable from a victorious foe. I shall not pass over to the ranks of our opponents, in order to become a traitor to myself. For I should thus be much more foolish than those who desert to the enemy ; as they do so for

safety, whilst I should do so for destruction—and that, too, of myself. I pray, however, that this may prove a faithless stratagem of the Romans; for if, after an assurance of protection, I perish by their hands, I shall die cheerfully, carrying with me their perfidy and falsehood—a consolation greater than victory.”

6. These, and many similar motives, did Josephus suggest to divert them from suicide. But despair had stopped their ears, for they had long devoted themselves to death; and in a paroxysm of fury, they ran at him from all sides with drawn swords, upbraiding him with cowardice, and manifesting a determination instantly to cut him down. But, addressing one by name—towards another assuming the aspect of command—taking a third by the hand—and softening a fourth by entreaties—though distracted with conflicting passions, he succeeded, in this emergency, in warding off the blades of all, always turning, as a wild beast when hemmed in, to the one that was assailing him. Some there were, also, whose arms were paralysed by reverence for the general in this his extreme distress, and whose swords dropped from their grasp; while many, in the very act of thrusting at him, unconsciously let fall their weapons.

7. But in this perplexity, his usual sagacity did not forsake him; and trusting to his guardian God, he hazarded his safety, and said: “Come, since you are resolved to die, let us commit our mutual slaughter to the lot, and let him, to whom it falls, die by the sword of him who comes next to him; and the same fate will thus pass through all. Nor let each be thrown on his own resolution. For it would be unjust that any one, after the destruction of the others, should repent, and be preserved.”

To a proposal so apparently fair they readily assented; and, having thus far prevailed, he cast the lot. He to whom it fell bared his throat to the next, not doubting but the general would soon share his fate; for death, with Josephus, they deemed sweeter than life. He, however—whether we ought to say by fortune, or by the providence of God—was left with one other; and, anxious neither to be condemned by the lot himself, nor, should he remain the last, to stain his hands with kindred blood, he persuaded him also, on a pledge given, to remain alive.

8. Josephus, having thus escaped in the war with the Romans, as in that with his friends, was conducted to Vespasian by Nicanor. The Romans crowded from all quarters to obtain a sight of him; and as the multitude pressed together around the general, a scene of varied disorder ensued: some exulting in his capture; some threatening; and others pushing forward to obtain a nearer view. Some,



from the distance, cried out to punish their enemy; while those beside him were penetrated with a recollection of his exploits, and pity for his reverse. Nor was there among the officers one, who, however previously exasperated, did not then relent on beholding him.

Owing to his own virtuous disposition, Titus, in particular, was touched by the fortitude with which Josephus bore his misfortunes, and felt compassion for a man thus situated in the prime of life. Remembering, moreover, how recently he had been in battle, and now seeing him a captive in the hands of foes, he was led to reflect on the power of fortune, the quick alternations of war, and the instability of human affairs. He disposed many, therefore, at the time to adopt his views, and commiserate Josephus; and proved, in the sequel, through his intercession with his father, the chief cause of his preservation. Vespasian, however, ordered him to be guarded with unremitting vigilance, purposing to send him without delay to Nero.

9. On hearing this Josephus intimated that he wished to speak in private to him; and Vespasian having removed all except his son Titus, and two of his friends, Josephus addressed him in these words: "You think, Vespasian, that you have possessed yourself merely of a captive in Josephus; but I come to you as a messenger of greater things. Had I not received a commission from God, I knew the law of the Jews, and how it becomes a general to die. Do you send me to Nero? Wherefore? Are there any remaining to succeed Nero, previous to your own accession? You, Vespasian, are Cæsar and emperor—you, and this your son. Bind me, then, the more securely, and keep me for yourself. For you, Cæsar, are master not only of me, but of sea and land, and of the whole human race. And I deserve the punishment of stricter ward, if I talk lightly, especially in a matter pertaining to God."

This declaration of Josephus, Vespasian was at first little inclined to credit, supposing it an ingenious artifice to save his life. Gradually, however, he was led to believe it, God already having raised him to power, and by other signs foreshowing the sceptre. He had, however, a farther proof of the veracity of Josephus; for one of those friends who were present at the private interview, having expressed his "surprise that he should have been unable to predict either the reduction of Jotapata, or his own captivity, if this were not a weak attempt to avert the resentment excited against him," Josephus replied, that "he had likewise, to the people of Jotapata, foretold that the city would be captured on the forty-seventh day, and himself taken alive by the Romans."

Vespasian, having privately inquired from the prisoners respecting these statements, and found them true, began to credit those relating to himself. He relaxed, however, neither the custody nor chains of Josephus, though he presented him with raiment and other articles, and continued to treat him with kindness and attention, Titus contributing much to these respectful courtesies.

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## CHAPTER IX.

1. On the fourth of the month Pancinus, Vespasian returned to Ptolemais, whence he repaired to Cæsarea, on the sea coast, a city of Judæa, of great extent, and chiefly inhabited by Greeks. Here both the army and its commander were received by the citizens with varied acclamations, and demonstrations of joy, proceeding in some measure from goodwill toward the Romans, but mainly from hatred of the vanquished. Accordingly, assembling in crowds, they demanded with loud vociferations the punishment of Josephus; but this petition, as presented by an inconsiderate multitude, Vespasian silently rejected. Finding the place adapted for the purpose, he directed two of the legions to winter there; ordering the fifteenth to Scythopolis, that he might not burden Cæsarea with the entire army. The climate of this city is as genial in winter, as it is insupportable from the extreme heat in summer; for it lies in a plain, and on the sea coast.

2. Meanwhile, however, those who on the revolt had fallen off from the enemy, or escaped from the demolished towns, and who formed no small body, had assembled, and, as a rallying point for themselves, rebuilt Joppa, which had been laid in ruins by Cestius; and as they were debarred from the country, now in occupation of the enemy, they determined to have recourse to the sea. Having, accordingly, constructed a number of piratical vessels, they carried on their depredations upon the line of voyage from Syria, and Phœnicia, as far as Egypt, and rendered the seas in that quarter entirely innavigable. Vespasian, on being informed of this combination, detached a party of horse and foot to Joppa, who, as it was unguarded, entered the city by night. Its occupants, who had received intimation of the incursion, fled in terror to their ships, and, declining all effort to repel the Romans, passed the night beyond the reach of missiles.

3. Joppa is, by nature, harbourless; being terminated by a rugged

shore, running in a direct line, except that it is slightly curved at the extremities, which consist of vast precipices and crags, jutting into the sea. Here also traces of Andromeda's chains are still pointed out, attesting the antiquity of the legend. The north wind, beating full in upon the coast, and driving the waves high against the opposing rocks, renders the roadstead more insecure than the watery waste.

Whilst the people of Joppa were here tossing about, they were assailed, towards morning, by a furious blast, called by the mariners who navigate those parts "the Black Norther," which dashed their ships, some against each other, and some against the rocks; while many in the face of the waves bearing out to sea, their crews dreading the shore, which was rocky, and the enemy who occupied it, foundered among the towering billows. There was neither means of flight, nor yet safety if they remained; for they were driven from the sea by the violence of the wind, and from the city by the Romans. Fearful was the shriek when the vessels were dashed against one another, and loud the crash when they broke up. Of the multitude, some perished, overwhelmed by the waters, and many involved in the wreck of their ships: whilst others, anticipating the sea, sought death from their own swords, as a lighter alternative. The greater part of them, however, swept to the shore by the waves, were torn by the rugged cliffs, insomuch that the sea was discoloured far and wide with blood, and the coast covered with dead; those cast on shore being massacred by the Romans, who were waiting to receive them. The bodies thrown up amounted to four thousand two hundred. The Romans, having taken the town without opposition, razed it to the ground.

4. Thus was Joppa, within a brief interval, a second time captured by the Romans. Vespasian, in order to prevent the pirates from again harbouring there, formed an encampment on the citadel, and left in it the cavalry, with a few infantry. The latter were to remain stationary, and guard the camp: the former to ravage the district around, and destroy the villages and small towns in the vicinity of Joppa. Accordingly, in obedience to their instructions, they overran the country, daily pillaging it, and reducing it to an utter desert.

5. When the fate of Jotapata was told in Jerusalem, it was at first generally disbelieved, as well from the magnitude of the calamity, as because no eye-witness of the events was forthcoming; for not a single individual had survived to convey the tidings. But rumour, springing naturally from sad events, had of herself announced the capture. By degrees, the truth made its way through the adjoining parts, and the fact was now regarded by all as too certain for doubt. Nay, in addition to what actually took place, things were fabricated

that never occurred. Thus it was stated that Josephus had fallen at the capture. This filled Jerusalem with the deepest sorrow. In every house, indeed, and among the kindred of those who had perished, the deceased were severally bewailed; but the mourning for the commander was general. Some grieved for hosts, some for relatives, some for friends, and some for brothers, but all for Josephus. Thus during thirty days the lamentations had no cessation in the city; and many minstrels were hired to lead the mournful strains.

6. But when the truth was disclosed by time, and the events as they had occurred at Jotapata became known, the death of Josephus was found to be a fiction; and when it was understood that he was alive, and with the Romans, and honoured by the officers beyond the fortune of a captive, they felt as much resentment towards him living, as they had before of affection when they supposed him dead. By some he was upbraided as a coward, by others as a traitor, and the city was filled with indignation and imprecations against him. They were exasperated, moreover, by their calamities, and still further inflamed by their pernicious measures. Nay, defeat, which suggests means of precaution to the wise, and leads them to provide against similar misfortunes, goaded them on to new disasters: so that the termination of one evil was invariably the commencement of another. They accordingly attacked the Romans with renewed energy, in them to avenge themselves on Josephus. Such were the disorders that now prevailed in Jerusalem.

7. Vespasian, designing personally to examine the territories of Agrippa, removed from Cæsarea on the sea coast, to the city called Cæsarea-Philippi. For the king, at once from a wish to entertain the general and the army in the best manner his private resources permitted, and to allay through them the disorders of his kingdom, had invited him into his dominions. Here he rested his troops for twenty days, and enjoyed himself in festivities, presenting thank-offerings to God for his success. But being informed that disaffection was showing itself in Tiberias, and that Tarichæa had already revolted—both were part of Agrippa's kingdom—and being resolved to subjugate the Jews in all quarters, he thought that an expedition against them would be well-timed, even for Agrippa's advantage, if, in requital of his hospitality, he should reduce those towns to reason for him. He therefore sent his son Titus to Cæsarea, to conduct the troops there stationed to Scythopolis, the largest city of Decapolis, and neighbouring to Tiberias; and thither he himself proceeded to await his son. Advancing with three legions, he encamped thirty furlongs from Tiberias, at a station called Sennabris, in view of the malecontents.

He then despatched Valerian, a decurion, at the head of fifty horse, to propose peaceful measures to those in the town, and urge them to confide in his assurances of protection. For he had heard that the people were desirous of peace, but had been compelled by some abettors of revolt to join the movement.

When Valerian, who was on horseback, approached the ramparts, he alighted, directing his troop to do the same, lest it might be supposed that they came to skirmish. But before the parties addressed each other, the more influential of the insurgents, headed by the leader of the brigand band, one Joshua, the son of Saphat, rushed out upon him in arms. Thinking it hazardous to engage contrary to the orders of the general, even were he assured of victory, while, moreover, it were dangerous with a handful of men to meet a numerous force, his own being unprepared, and his antagonists fully equipped; and disconcerted, besides, by the unexpected daring of the Jews, Valerian fled on foot; five others, in like manner, abandoning their horses. These Joshua and his comrades led off to the town, exulting as if they had taken them in battle, and not by stratagem.

8. Dreading the consequences of this affair, the elders of the people, and the men of rank, repaired in haste to the Roman camp; and, accompanied by the king, threw themselves as suppliants at the feet of Vespasian, imploring him not to disregard their prayer, nor impute to the whole city the madness of a few; but to spare the people, who had always been friendly to the Romans, and to punish the authors of the revolt, by whom they had till now been kept under guard, long anxious as they were for his protection. To these entreaties the general, though incensed against the entire city on account of the capture of the horses, yielded; for he saw that Agrippa felt much uneasiness respecting it. The deputation having received a pledge of protection for the people, Joshua and his party, thinking it unsafe longer to continue at Tiberias, made off to Tarichæa.

The next day Vespasian sent Trajan forward with some horsemen to the ridge of the hill, with the view of testing the multitude, whether all were disposed for peace. Having ascertained that they coincided in sentiment with the petitioners, he led his army to the city. The inhabitants threw open their gates to him, and met him with acclamations, hailing him as their saviour and benefactor. The troops being crushed owing to the narrowness of the entrance, Vespasian, ordering part of the south wall to be thrown down, widened the passage for them. In compliment to the king, however, he charged them to abstain from rapine and outrage; and for his



sake also, as he pledged himself for the future fidelity of the inhabitants, he spared the fortifications. And thus was rescued from sedition a city which had been harassed with various ills.

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## CHAPTER X.

1. VESPASIAN, advancing from Tiberias, encamped between that town and Tarichæa, fortifying his post with the greater care, from a suspicion that the war in that quarter would be protracted; as the disaffected were flowing in one general conflux to Tarichæa, confiding in its strength, and in its position on the lake, which by the inhabitants of the district is called Gennesareth. For that city, lying, like Tiberias, at the foot of a mountain, had, on those sides not washed by the lake, been strongly fortified by Josephus, though less securely than Tiberias; for the walls there had been built on the first outbreak of the insurrection, at a large expenditure of money and labour; whereas Tarichæa had partaken merely of the residue of his bounty. They had withal many ships in readiness on the lake as a refuge in case of defeat on shore, and fitted up for a naval engagement, should circumstances require.

While the Romans were throwing up their intrenchments, Joshua and his comrades, alarmed neither by the number nor discipline of the enemy, sallied out, and, having at the first onset dispersed the workmen, levelled a little of the structure; when, seeing the troops collecting, they fell back, before they had sustained any loss, upon their own party. The Romans pursued, and drove them to their ships. Sailing out, but so as still to keep the Romans within reach of their missiles, they cast anchor; and, forming their fleet in close line, like the ranks of an army, maintained a naval conflict with their antagonists on shore. Vespasian, hearing that they had assembled also in great numbers on the plain before the town, despatched his son thither with six hundred picked cavalry.

2. Titus, finding that the enemy were in prodigious strength, sent to inform his father that he required a reinforcement. Remarking, however, that many of his men were eager to come to action even before succour arrived, whilst some were secretly filled with alarm at the multitude of the Jews—standing on a spot whence he might be audible, he spoke as follows:

“Men, Romans!—for it becomes me, in the opening of my address, to remind you of your descent, that you may know who we are, and with whom we are to contend. For to this hour nothing on the habitable globe has escaped our hands; and yet the Jews—to refer also to them—though discomfited, still maintain the contest. And shameful were it, that, while they bear up in disaster, we should faint in success. I rejoice to witness the alacrity which you manifest: but I fear lest any of you should be inspired with secret alarm by the multitude of our foes. Let such an one again reflect, who he is, and against whom he is arrayed; and that the Jews, though undaunted, and reckless of life, are nevertheless ill disciplined, and unskilled in war, and may rather be styled a rabble than an army.

“But, why need I allude to our skill and discipline? We alone, even in times of peace, are exercised in arms, that in the day of battle we may not contrast our own numbers with those of our opponents. What, indeed, avails our uninterrupted training, if we must be marshalled, man for man, against an untrained foe? Consider, too, that the contest lies between the armed and unarmed, infantry and cavalry—those who have a leader, and those who have none: and, as these advantages make you manifold more, so do their disadvantages detract much from the number of our antagonists. Again, it is not a multitude of men, however soldierlike they may be, that ensures victory in the field: but fortitude, though only in a few. For such, indeed, are easily marshalled, and brought up to each other's support; whilst unwieldy masses are more injured by themselves than by the enemy. The Jews are led on by temerity and self-confidence, affections of mere madness, and, though highly efficient in success, extinguished by the slightest mischance: we, by valour, by disciplined obedience, and by that fortitude, which, while it flourishes in prosperity, fails not to the very last in adversity.

“But it is for a nobler prize than the Jews that you contend. For, albeit that for freedom and country they incur the dangers of war, what higher motive can stimulate us than glory, and the consideration, that after achieving the empire of the world, it must not appear that the Jews are able to resist us? Besides, we should reflect, that we have no irreparable disaster to apprehend; for those prepared to succour us are many, and at hand. Yet, we can snatch the victory, and it behoves us to anticipate the succour on its way to us from my father, that, unshared, the greater may be our triumph.

“And, if I err not, in this hour, my father is on his trial, and myself, and you—whether he indeed is worthy of past successes, I of being his son, and you of being my soldiers. For, to him, victory is

familiar : and I could never bear to return to him, if I were defeated : and will not you be ashamed if surpassed by your commander, when he leads the way to danger ? For in the path of danger be well assured that I will lead, and throw myself first upon the enemy. Be not, then, outdone by me, convinced that my efforts will be aided by an assisting God : and know for certain that we shall be more successful in a close engagement."

3. During this harangue of Titus, the men were seized with a supernatural ardour ; and when Trajan, with four hundred horse, arrived prior to the action, they took it to heart, as the victory, thus shared, would be lessened to themselves. Vespasian had, likewise, despatched Antonius Silo, with two thousand archers, whom he directed to occupy the hill over against the town, and keep in check those on the ramparts ; and, according to his instructions, they prevented any assistance being afforded from that quarter. Titus now, spurring his horse, led the charge against the enemy : his men followed with loud shouts, extending themselves across the plain, until their line equalled that of their opponents, and thus materially augmenting their apparent strength.

The Jews, though dismayed at their furious onset and regular array, for a short time withstood the attack ; but, being galled by the lances, and overthrown by the impetuous rush of the cavalry, they were trampled down. Many being slaughtered on all sides, the remainder dispersed, and fled, each with what haste he could, towards the city. Titus, pursuing them hotly, cut up their rear, now breaking through their dense masses, and now pushing in advance of them, he charged them in front : many he drove confusedly together, and, dashing in upon them as they fell one over another, trod them down : all he intercepted in their retreat to the ramparts, and turned them back to the plain ; until at length, by their numbers, they forced their way through, and escaped in a body into the town.

4. But a fierce contention awaited them within. For the inhabitants, as well for the sake of their property as of the city, having from the first been indisposed to war, were more so at that moment from their discomfiture ; while the strangers, a numerous party, opposed them violently. Thus, mutually enraged, clamour and tumult prevailed ; and they were on the point of appealing to arms. Titus, who was not far from the wall, hearing the disturbance, called aloud : " Now is the time. Why, then, fellow-soldiers, do we delay, when God is delivering to us the Jews ? Accept the victory. Hear you not the uproar ? Those who have escaped our hands are quarrelling among themselves. The town is ours, if we but use despatch. To



promptitude, however, we must add exertion and resolution; for nothing great is wont to be accomplished without danger. It behoves us not only to anticipate the concord of our enemies, whom necessity will speedily unite, but the assistance of our friends, that, besides defeating so vast a multitude, we may, few though we be, unaided capture the city."

5. As he spoke he sprang upon his horse, and, galloping down to the lake, rode through it, and was the first to enter the town, followed by his men. Terror-struck at his daring, those on the ramparts waited neither to fight nor impede his progress. Abandoning their post, Joshua and his associates dispersed through the country: others ran down to the lake, and fell in with their antagonists on the advance: some were killed climbing up into their ships: others, endeavouring to reach them when under weigh. Great, too, was the havoc in the city, as well of the strangers who had not succeeded in escaping, and who now made resistance, as of the residents, who offered none—for, in the hope of protection, and in the consciousness of having given no countenance to the war, they refrained from arms—until Titus, having punished the guilty, was touched with compassion for the inhabitants, and put an end to the slaughter. Those who had taken refuge on the lake, seeing the city captured, withdrew as far as possible from danger.

6. Titus having despatched a trooper with the gratifying intelligence of this achievement to his father, Vespasian experienced, as was natural, the most lively satisfaction, not less from the valour of his son, than from the success of the enterprise: for the most serious difficulties of the war seemed now to be removed. Repairing thither immediately, he placed guards over the city, that none might clandestinely withdraw from it, ordering them to put all such to the sword. Going down next day to the lake, he gave directions for fitting out rafts against the fugitives; and, as materials were abundant, and workmen numerous, his commands were speedily executed.

7. The lake of Gennesareth, deriving its appellation from the adjacent district, is forty furlongs in breadth, and a hundred and forty in length. Its waters are at once sweet, and extremely pleasant to drink, as they flow in a clearer stream than the muddy collections of marshes: and they can be drawn free from impurities, being throughout confined by abrupt and sandy shores. They are of a medium temperature, milder than those of the river or the fountain, yet uniformly colder than might be expected from the expanse of the lake: not less so, indeed, than snow, when they are exposed to the air, as it is customary with the people of the country to do with them

during the summer nights. The kinds of fish found here differ from those elsewhere met with, both in flavour and species. This lake, it may be added, is intersected by the Jordan.

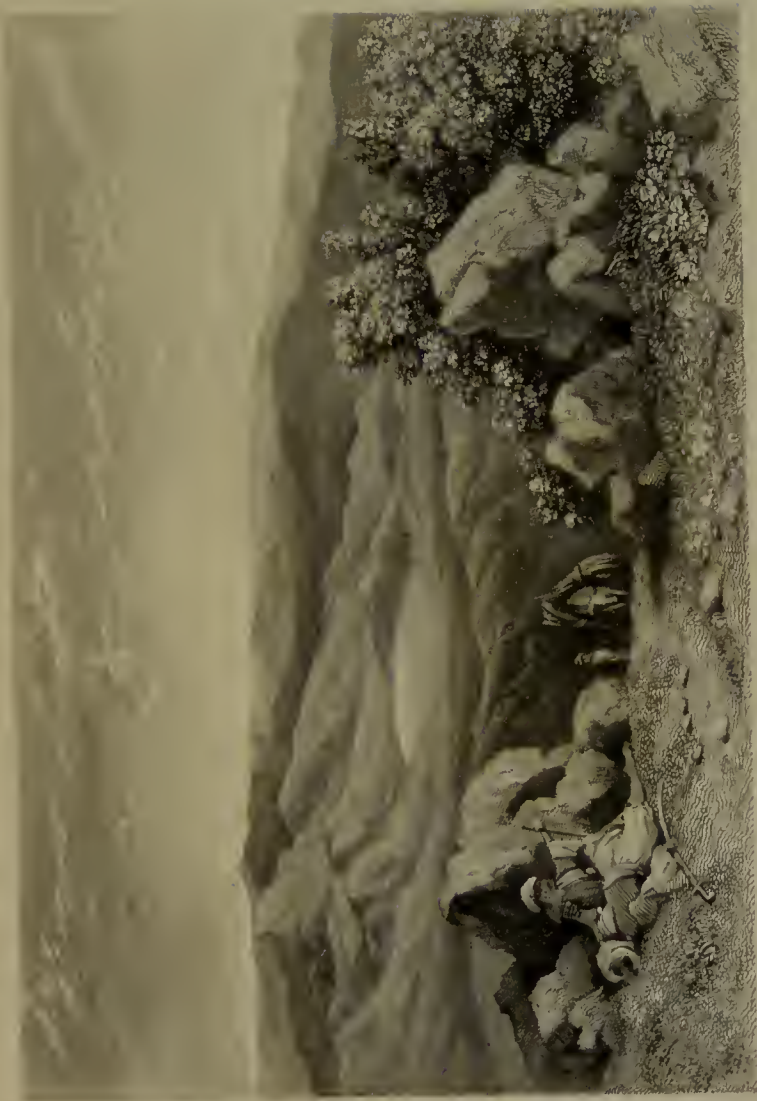
Apparently, Panium is the source of the Jordan; but the water is, in reality, conveyed thither unseen by a subterranean channel from Phiala, as it is called, which lies not far from the high road, on the right as you ascend to Trachonitis, at the distance of a hundred and twenty furlongs from Cæsarea. From its circumference, it is appropriately designated Phiala (bowl), being a lake of a circular form. The water remains uniformly on a level with the margin, without subsidence, or overflow.

That the Jordan hence derived its origin was formerly unknown, until it was ascertained by Philip, tetrarch of Trachonitis; who, having thrown chaff into Phiala, found it cast up at Panium, where it was anciently supposed the river took its rise. The natural beauty of Panium was improved by royal munificence, the place having been ornamented at the expense of Agrippa. Commencing from this cavern, the visible stream of the Jordan divides the lagoons and marshes of the lake Semechonitis; and, flowing an hundred and twenty furlongs below the town of Julias, intersects Gennesareth: then, traversing a vast desert, it empties itself into the lake Asphaltitis.

8. Extending along the lake of Gennesareth, and bearing also its name, lies a tract of country, admirable both for its natural properties, and its beauty. Such is the fertility of the soil, that it rejects no plant, and accordingly all are here cultivated by the husbandman: for so genial is the air, that it suits every variety. The walnut, which delights, beyond other trees, in a wintry climate, grows here luxuriantly; together with the palm-tree, which is nourished by heat: and near to these are figs and olives, to which a milder atmosphere has been assigned. One might style this an ambitious effort of nature, doing violence to herself in bringing together plants of discordant habits, and an amiable rivalry of the seasons, each as it were asserting her right to the soil; for it not only possesses the extraordinary virtue of nourishing fruits of opposite climes, but also maintains a continual supply of them. Thus it produces those most royal of all, the grape and the fig, during ten months, without intermission, while the other varieties ripen the year round; for, besides being favoured by the genial temperature of the air, it is irrigated by a highly fertilizing spring, called Capharnaum by the people of the country. This some have thought a vein of the Nile, from its producing a fish similar to the coracin of the lake of Alexandria. The tract, extending along the







THE LAKE PHILA.



shores of the lake which bears its name, is thirty furlongs in length, and twenty in breadth. And such are its natural peculiarities.

9. When the rafts were prepared, Vespasian, having embarked as many of his troops as he deemed sufficient to cope with those on the lake, pushed out. The fugitives, meanwhile, hard pressed, could neither escape to land, where all were in arms against them, nor yet maintain a naval conflict on equal terms; for their boats, being small, and built for piracy, could avail little against the rafts; and the few, who severally manned them, were afraid to close with the dense ranks of the Romans. Sailing round the line of rafts, notwithstanding, and occasionally approaching, they flung stones from a distance at the Romans, or galled them in a nearer attack; but in both instances they sustained greater injury themselves. For the stones, falling on men cased in armour, did nothing more than produce a pattering sound, the assailants meantime being within range of the missiles of the Romans; and if they ventured closer, ere they could effect aught, they suffered themselves, and were sunk with their shallops. Of those who endeavoured to break through, some they slew, reaching them with their lances; some again, leaping sword in hand into their vessels; whilst others, as the rafts closed in, were caught between them, and captured with their barques.

Those submerged, either a dart surprised when they rose, or a raft fell in with; and did they, in their perplexity, attempt to climb up to their foes, either their heads or hands were cut off by the Romans. Thus great and various was the slaughter of them on all sides, until the survivors, giving way, and their boats being surrounded, were forced on shore. Many, however, who were shut out from the strand, were speared in the water; and many who sprang from their vessels, the Romans slew on land. Then might have been seen the whole lake discoloured with blood, and choked with dead; for not one escaped. Dreadful on the following days was the stench diffused through the country, and shocking the spectacle presented. For the shores were covered with wrecks, and with swollen carcases; while the dead, scorched and putrifying, so infected the air, that not only was this calamity a source of sorrow to the Jews, but hateful even to those who caused it. Such was the issue of this naval engagement. The killed, including those who had previously fallen in the city, amounted to six thousand five hundred.

10. After the battle Vespasian took his seat on a tribunal in Tarichæa, and having separated the strangers from the inhabitants—the former, as it appeared, having commenced hostilities—consulted with his generals whether their lives, also, should be spared. These



officers stating that their liberation would be prejudicial, as they would not remain quiet if let loose—for they were men deprived of homes, capable of violence, and of maintaining war against any with whom they might take refuge—Vespasian, when informed that they were undeserving of his lenity, and that they would employ their freedom against those who granted it, deliberated as to the mode of their destruction. Were he to put them to death there, he suspected that it might exasperate the inhabitants, who would not tolerate in their city the slaughter of so many who had sued for mercy; and, after protection pledged, he could not bear to lay hand on those who had accepted it. His friends, however, overcame his scruples; alleging that nothing done to Jews could be impious, and that expediency should be preferred to propriety, when it was impossible to reconcile their claims. Granting them, therefore, an equivocal impunity, he allowed them to go out by that way alone which led to Tiberias. Readily believing what they wished, they pursued their journey openly, and fearlessly, with their effects, along the permitted route; the Romans, in the meantime, occupying the whole road to the very gates of Tiberias, lest any of them should turn aside, and shutting them up in the town.

Vespasian arrived soon after, and placing them in a body in the circus, ordered the old, and unserviceable, to the number of twelve hundred, to be put to death. From the youth he selected six thousand of the most robust, and sent them to Nero to be employed on the Isthmus. The rest, amounting to thirty thousand four hundred, he sold, with the exception of those presented to Agrippa. For, such of them as were subjects of that prince, he allowed him to dispose of at his discretion. These, likewise, the king sold. The remaining multitude, Trachonites, and Gaulanites, with those from Hippos and Gadara, were, the greater part of them, malecontents and fugitives, to whom the infamy that attended them in peace made war desirable. They were captured on the eighth of the month Gorpæus.

THE JEWISH WAR.

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BOOK IV.

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## ARGUMENT OF THE FOURTH BOOK.

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1. The siege and capture of Gamala.—2. The surrender of the people of Gischala.—3. Concerning John of Gischala, and the Zealots.—4. The Idumæans, invited by the Zealots, arrive at Jerusalem.—5. The ferocity of the Idumæans and of the Zealots; and how the former returned home.—6. The slaughter of many in the city by the Zealots.—7. The tyranny exercised by John: Vespasian takes Gadara.—8. Vespasian hastens to finish the Jewish War. Description of Jericho, of the Great Plain, and of the Asphaltic Lake.—9. Nero dies at the moment when Vespasian is making his preparations for the siege of Jerusalem.—10. The soldiers, both in Judæa and Egypt, proclaim Vespasian Emperor.—11. Vitellius being defeated and slain, Vespasian hastens to Rome.



## BOOK IV.

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### CHAPTER I.

1. THOSE of the Galilæans, who, after the fall of Jotapata, had revolted from the Romans, returned to their allegiance on the reduction of Tarichæa; and the Romans received the submission of all the garrisons and towns, with the exception of Gischala, and the force which occupied Mount Tabor. With these was associated Gamala, a city opposite to Tarichæa, and lying on the Lake. This had been apportioned to Agrippa, as had Sogane and Seleucia, both in Gaulanitis: Sogane being part of that called Upper Gaulana, Gamala of the Lower. Seleucia is situate on the Lake Semechonitis, a sheet of water thirty furlongs in breadth, and sixty in length; and the marshes of which extend to Daphne, a spot delightful in various respects, and abounding moreover in springs, which, supplying what is called the little Jordan below the temple of the Golden Calf, flow into the greater.

Agrippa, at the commencement of the revolt, had induced Sogane and Seleucia to accept protection; but Gamala, confiding, even more than Jotapata had done, in its natural defences, refused. A rugged ridge, stretching from a high mountain, rises in a hump midway, and elongates itself from the rise, declining as much before as behind, so as to resemble a camel in form. Hence it derives its name, the people of the country not being particular as to the exactness of the designation. Both in flank and front it is cleft into inaccessible ravines; but at the tail, it is somewhat easier of ascent; being there joined to the mountains, from which, however, the inhabitants severed it by a trench, and rendered the approach more difficult. Against the precipitous face of the mountain, numerous houses had been built, closely crowded one on another: and the city, apparently suspended in the air, seemed to be falling upon itself by reason of its perpendicular site. It inclines towards the mid-day sun; and the hill, stretching upward with a southern aspect to a prodigious height, served as a citadel to the town: while an impregnable cliff above it extended downward into a ravine of vast depth. Within the ramparts was a fountain, at which the city terminated.

2. Though the town possessed such strong natural defences, Josephus, when fortifying it, had still farther secured it by mines and trenches. But its inhabitants, though more emboldened by the natural security of their position than had been the people of Jotapata, were much inferior to them in the number of fighting men. Still such confidence did they feel in their situation, that they would admit no more. For the city, owing to its strength, which had enabled it to hold out against the troops of Agrippa during a siege of seven months, had been filled with fugitives.

3. Vespasian, breaking up from Ammaus, where he had encamped in front of Tiberias, advanced to Gamala. The term Ammaus, in our language, signifies warm water; the name being derived from a warm spring which rises there, possessing sanative properties. The situation of Gamala not permitting the Roman general to surround it with a line of troops, he stationed sentries in those places which were accessible, and occupied the mountain that overhung it. When the legions, according to custom, had fortified their camp on the heights, he commenced operations by throwing up mounds at the tail, and in that quarter on the east, where at the highest spot above the city was a tower, beside which the fifteenth legion had encamped. The fifth legion was employed against the centre of the town, and the tenth in filling up the trenches and ravines.

Meantime king Agrippa, who had approached the ramparts, and was attempting to address those stationed there on the subject of a capitulation, being struck with a stone on the right elbow by one of the slingers, was immediately surrounded by his friends. The Romans were now stimulated to press the siege both by resentment on the king's account, and apprehensions on their own: assured that men who could thus inhumanly treat a fellow-countryman, while advising them for their welfare, would be guilty of every cruelty towards aliens and enemies.

4. The mounds having been quickly completed, as the hands were many and accustomed to the work, the engines were brought up. Chares and Joseph, the persons of highest authority in the town, drew out their forces, though the men were exceedingly alarmed in the persuasion that they could not long sustain the siege, as there was already a deficiency of water and other necessities. Nevertheless, encouraging them, they led them to the ramparts; and for a short time they kept at bay those who were bringing up the engines, but, being wounded by the catapults and stone projectors, they fell back into the town. The Romans now advanced the rams from three different quarters, and shook the wall. Pouring in at the breach,



amidst the deafening peal of trumpets, and the din of arms, the soldiers with loud shouts encountered the defenders of the city. These, however, having maintained their ground against the first onset, arrested their farther advance, and gallantly repulsed the Romans; until, overpowered by force of numbers, they were obliged to seek shelter in the higher parts of the town; where, falling in turn upon their assailants, who were pressing upon them, they thrust them down the declivities, and slaughtered them while embarrassed by the confinedness and difficulties of the place.

The Romans, unable to repel those who rushed down on them from above, or force their way through their own party who were pushing forward, took refuge on the roofs of their enemies' houses, which abutted on the hill. These being filled with soldiers, and of insufficient strength to sustain the weight, quickly gave way. One in its fall carried many of those below along with it, and these again those beneath them. This proved destructive to numbers of the Romans; for not knowing whither to turn, though they saw the houses sinking, they leaped upon the roofs.

Many were overwhelmed by the ruins; and many who escaped with life were mutilated in different parts of their bodies; while multitudes died of suffocation from the dust. The people of Gamala, viewing this as a divine interposition, pressed forward, regardless of their own loss, and forced their antagonists upon the roofs of the houses: and those who lost their footing in the steep and narrow streets, they slew as they fell, with missiles constantly aimed at them from above. The ruins supplied them with stones in abundance, and their deceased enemies with steel: for they wrested the swords from the slain, and employed them against those still struggling in death. Many, too, after falling from the houses, stabbed themselves, and expired. Nor yet for those who gave way was retreat easy; as, owing to their ignorance of the ways, and the thickness of the dust, unable to recognise one another, they slew their comrades, and fell around each other in heaps.

5. Those who had with difficulty discovered the outlets retired from the town. Vespasian, who invariably remained with those in distress, was deeply affected at seeing the city falling in ruins on his soldiers, and, forgetful of his own safety, had unconsciously but gradually ascended to the highest quarter of the city. Here he was left surrounded with dangers, and with only a handful of men; for his son Titus was absent at the time, having been recently sent into Syria to Mucianus. Thinking it, therefore, neither safe nor honourable to fly, and mindful of his toils from early youth, and of

his character for valour, he, as if by a divine impulse, united in close barrier the bodies and armour of those with him. He thus sustained the tide of war that flowed down from above, and dismayed by the numbers neither of men nor missiles, kept his ground, until the enemy, struck with his supernatural intrepidity, relaxed in ardour. Being now less warmly pressed, he retreated step by step, and without showing his back, until he was outside the ramparts.

In this conflict multitudes of the Romans were slain; among them Ebutius the decurion, a man, who not only in the engagement in which he fell, but on every former occasion, had proved himself bravest of the brave, and had inflicted many evils on the Jews. A centurion named Gallus, being with ten soldiers surrounded during the fray, concealed himself in a private house. He and his party, who were Syrians, having overheard the inmates conversing at supper of the intentions of the town's-people, as regarded the Romans and themselves, he rose on them in the night, and, slaughtering them all, escaped with his comrades to the camp.

6. As the troops were dejected at the thought of these disasters, from having never before experienced so severe a calamity, and were then more particularly ashamed at leaving the general alone in danger, Vespasian, omitting all reference to himself, that he might not appear to begin with a complaint, consoled them with the observation, that "those casualties, to which all are liable, it behoves us to bear with fortitude, reflecting on the nature of war, which never grants a bloodless victory, as Fortune hovers fluctuating around the field. Myriads of the Jews," he said, "have succumbed to our arms, and we now pay to that deity a trifling compensation. As it belongs to the foolish to be greatly elated by success, so does it to the unmanly to tremble in adversity. For, from one of these, to the other, the change is rapid; and he is the best soldier, who is sober under misfortunes, that with persevering cheerfulness he may repair his disasters. What has now occurred, however, arose neither from our effeminacy, nor from the valour of the Jews. Their advantage, as our disappointment, originated in the natural difficulties of the place. In this case, blame may justly attach to your inconsiderate ardour. For when your antagonists had retired to the heights, you ought to have restrained yourselves, and not have followed them to the dangers which awaited you from above. Having mastered the lower town, you should gradually have drawn those who had fled upwards into secure and steady combat: whereas, in your vehement pursuit of victory, you neglected your own safety. Want of circumspection in war, however, and headstrong impetuosity, belong not to Romans, who owe all their success to skill and

discipline: it is a barbaric error, and one by which the Jews are especially misled. It behoves us, therefore, to fall back upon our native valour, and rather to be angry, than to despond, at this unworthy mischance. Let every one from his own right hand seek his best consolation. For thus shall you avenge the lost, and punish those who slew them. And it shall be my care, as in this so in every engagement, to be foremost against the foe, and the last to retire."

7. With such language he re-animated his troops. The people of Gamala, meanwhile, assumed a momentary confidence from this signal and brilliant success. But when in the sequel they considered that no hope of accommodation now remained, and reflected that escape was impossible—for their supplies were already deficient—they were exceedingly disquieted, and dejected in mind. Nevertheless, so far as circumstances permitted, they did not neglect their safety. The bravest guarded the breaches, and the rest, crowding round, defended what still remained of the wall. But while the Romans were constructing their mounds, and again endeavouring to effect an entrance, multitudes fled from the city down pathless ravines, where no watch was kept, and through subterraneous passages. As many however as, from fear of being taken, continued in the town, perished from want; every spot around having been ransacked for provisions for those capable of bearing arms.

8. Amidst such sufferings they still maintained the struggle. As an appendage to the siege, Vespasian engaged in operations against those who had occupied Tabor, a mountain lying midway between the Great Plain and Seythopolis. The ascent is thirty furlongs, the place being almost inaccessible on the north. The summit is a plain, of six-and-twenty furlongs:—and the whole of it fortified. But, extensive as was the wall, it had been raised in forty days by Josephus, who was supplied with materials and water from below; the inhabitants depending solely on rain. A vast multitude having here congregated, Vespasian detached Placidus to the spot with six hundred horse. Finding it impracticable to ascend the heights, he invited the assemblage to terms, holding out a hope of his protection and advocacy. They descended accordingly, but with a counter design; for Placidus addressed them mildly, with a view to capture them in the plain: whilst they came down, as if acquiescing in his proposal, that they might fall upon him when off his guard. The craft of Placidus, however, succeeded. For, the Jews having commenced the action, he feigned flight, and having drawn his pursuers far into the plain, he ordered his cavalry to wheel round, and thus routed them. Having put great numbers to the sword, he intercepted the remainder, and

prevented their return. Those who abandoned Tabor, fled to Jerusalem: the inhabitants, under promise of protection, and urged by want of water, delivered up the mountain and themselves to Placidus.

9. The more adventurous of the people of Gamala had fled secretly, and the feeble perished by famine. The effective force, however, maintained the siege until the twenty-second of the month Hyperberetæus, when three soldiers of the fifteenth legion, about the morning watch, stealing up, silently undermined a lofty tower opposite to them; unperceived by the sentries stationed on it either in their approach, for it was night, or after they had reached it. Their object thus far accomplished, the soldiers, avoiding noise, having rolled away five of the principal stones, sprang down; and the tower fell suddenly with a tremendous crash, carrying the guards with it headlong. Those who were on the watch at the other posts fled in perturbation. Many who attempted to cut their way out, were killed by the Romans, and among them Joseph, who was slain as he was making his escape through the breach. Those in the city, terrified by the noise, ran in every direction, in a state of the utmost consternation; as if the whole of the enemy had fallen upon them. At this moment, Chares, who was sick and confined to his bed, expired; terror contributing to the fatal termination of his disorder. The Romans, warned by their former disaster, did not enter the fortress until the twenty-third of the month above mentioned.

10. Titus, who had by this time returned, indignant at the loss which the Romans had sustained in his absence, selecting two hundred horsemen, and a body of infantry, entered the city without noise. The guards, perceiving him as he passed, flew with loud clamour to arms. His entrance being quickly communicated to those within, some, snatching up their children, and dragging their wives along, fled to the citadel with bitter cries and lamentations; while those who met with Titus, perished without intermission. They, who were prevented from taking refuge on the summit of the hill, fell in their perplexity among the Roman sentries. Dreadful on all sides were the groans of those mortally wounded, and the blood flowing down the declivities, inundated the whole town.

To aid the operations against the party who had fled to the citadel, Vespasian brought up his entire force. The summit, rocky, difficult of access, rising to a vast height, and surrounded with precipices, was everywhere crowded with people. Here the Jews cut down those who were advancing, and with other weapons, and stones which they rolled down, made great havoc; they themselves being so elevated,

that a dart would scarcely reach them. To seal their destruction, however, a storm miraculously arose, blowing full in their faces, which, while it carried against them the darts of the Romans, turned theirs aside, and drove them in an oblique direction. Nor could they, owing to the violence of the wind, stand on the edge of the precipices, having no secure footing; nor yet discern those who were approaching. The Romans, accordingly, ascended, surrounded and slaughtered them, some defending themselves, and others stretching out their hands in supplication; for the recollection of those who fell in the first attack inflamed their fury against all. Multitudes, hemmed in on every side, despairing of escape, holding their children and their wives in their embrace, plunged headlong into the ravine, which had been excavated to a vast depth below the citadel. And thus it occurred, that the rage of the Romans seemed milder than the frantic violence of the vanquished towards themselves: the number slain by the former being four thousand, while those, who cast themselves from the heights, were found to exceed five. Two females alone survived the general carnage. They were nieces by the maternal side, of Philip, son of Jacimus, a distinguished man, who had been commander-in-chief under King Agrippa. They owed their preservation to their having secreted themselves at the capture of the town; for such was the fury of the Romans, that not even infants were spared; many of them being snatched up on the instant, and slung from the citadel. Thus was Gamala taken. On the twenty-fourth of the month Gorpiaëus, the revolt commenced; and on the twenty-third of Hyperberetæus, the fortress fell.

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## CHAPTER II.

1. GISCHALA, a small town of Galilee, now alone remained to be reduced. The inhabitants, indeed, were disposed to peace; being chiefly husbandmen, whose views had always been confined to their crops: but there had crept in among them a numerous party of brigands, by whom some even of the magistracy had been corrupted. These had been drawn into the insurrection, and encouraged in it, by John, the son of Levi, a man of intrigue, and capable of assuming any character, inclined to indulge vast expectations, and singularly adept in realizing his hopes. He was generally known to have his heart set on war, with a view to the attainment of supreme power. Under him



the malecontents of Gischala had ranged themselves, and through their means it occurred that the townsmen, who had already sent a deputation to treat of a surrender, were induced, in the attitude of defiance, to await the approach of the Romans. Against these Vespasian despatched Titus with a thousand horse, directing the tenth legion to proceed to Scythopolis, while he himself returned with the other two legions to Cæsarea, to recruit them after their incessant toil; thinking that the abundant supplies in those cities would invigorate their bodies, and impart fresh alacrity for future conflicts. For he saw that no little labour was in reserve for him, under the walls of Jerusalem, as well because it was the royal city, and the capital of the nation, as from its being the point of conflux for all who fled from the seat of war. Its strength, natural and artificial, occasioned him no ordinary solicitude, more particularly as he conjectured that the high spirit and daring of its people would, even without the aid of fortifications, render their reduction difficult. He accordingly trained his soldiers, like wrestlers, for the combat.

2. Titus, on riding up to Gischala, ascertained that it might easily be carried by assault. But, sensible that should it be taken by storm the people would be consigned to general massacre by the troops—he was himself satiated with slaughter—and moved with compassion for the great body of the people, who would perish indiscriminately with the guilty, he wished the place rather to be surrendered by capitulation. Accordingly, when the ramparts were crowded with men, most of whom were of the corrupted party, he remarked to them, that “he could not but wonder what they relied on, that, after every other city had fallen, they should remain alone in arms against the Romans; especially when they saw much stronger towns overthrown at the first assault, and beheld in the secure enjoyment of their possessions, those who had trusted the proffered pledge of the Romans—that right hand which, uninfluenced by any vindictive feeling for their presumption, he now extended to them. The hope of liberty was pardonable; but perseverance in impossibilities inexcusable. Should they decline this humane proposal, and the pledge of good faith, they would experience his relentless arms, and would soon be made to know that their ramparts would be mere pastime for the Roman engines—those ramparts, reliance on which had placed them alone of the Galilæans, in the light of arrogant captives.”

3. To this address, not only were none of the citizens permitted to reply, but not even were they allowed to ascend the wall; for it had been completely pre-occupied by the brigands: while guards had been posted at the gates, to prevent the egress of those who wished to go

out on terms, or the admission of any of the cavalry into the town. John replied that "he was satisfied with these conditions, and would either persuade or coerce the recusants. Titus must, however, grant him that day, the seventh, in deference to the Jewish law, as on it they were forbidden alike to use arms, or to treat of peace. Even the Romans were not ignorant that the recurrence of the seventh day brought them a cessation from all labour: and he who compelled to its violation would be not less impious than those compelled. And to him this delay could cause no injury; for, what could any one contemplate in a night beyond a mere escape; which he could guard against by encamping around the city? To them, the gain would be great, not to have transgressed their national usage: while to the individual who granted an unexpected peace, it would be seemly to preserve also their institutions to those thus saved." By such language John imposed on Titus, for his own personal safety was more the object of his solicitude than the seventh day; and under the apprehension that, should the town be taken, he would immediately be deserted, he rested his hopes of life on darkness and flight. It was, however, the work of God, who thus preserved John for the destruction of Jerusalem, that Titus was not only prevailed upon by this pretext of delay, but induced to encamp farther from the city, at Cydæssa. This is a strong inland village of the Tyrians, always at feud and variance with the Galilæans, as having, in its numerous population and strength, resources for its quarrel with that nation.

4. At nightfall, John, seeing no Roman guard about the town, seized the opportunity, and accompanied not only by what soldiers were with him, but by many of the idler sort, attended by their families, fled towards Jerusalem. Goaded by the dread of captivity, and fear for his life, he managed to drag with him a crowd of women and children to the distance of twenty furlongs; but there, proceeding on his journey, he abandoned them; and dreadful were their wailings when thus forsaken, for, the farther they were from their friends, the nearer they fancied themselves to their foes.

Thinking that those who were about to make them prisoners were already at hand, they were agitated with alarms; and looked about at the sound of each other's steps, as if their pursuers were upon them. Many, too, strayed into pathless wastes, and in the strife who should outstrip the other on the road, many were trodden to death. Piteous was the fate of the women and children; a few of whom summoned courage to call back their husbands and relations, imploring them with bitter cries to wait for them. But John's exhortations prevailed. "Save yourselves," he called aloud, "and flee to



some place of security, where we may avenge ourselves on the Romans, if they plunder those we leave behind." Accordingly, as strength or speed severally enabled them, the crowd of fugitives dispersed.

5. When day broke, Titus appeared before the wall to propose terms. The people threw open the gates, and approaching him with their children and wives, greeted him with acclamations as a benefactor, who had liberated their city from duress. They informed him, at the same time, of John's flight, entreating him to spare them, to advance into the town, and punish the malecontents who remained. Titus, however, deeming the supplications of the people of secondary importance, despatched a squadron of cavalry in pursuit of John. But the chase proved fruitless; and he escaped in safety to Jerusalem. Of those who accompanied him, however, they slew about six thousand, and brought back, driving them before them, nearly three thousand women and children. Titus was exceedingly chagrined at not having visited John's deceit with instant chastisement; but with prisoners in abundance, and the slain, to solace his disappointed resentment, he entered the city amidst universal acclaim; and having directed the troops to throw down, agreeably to the law of capture, a little of the wall, he repressed the disturbers of the public peace rather by threats than punishments. For he feared that, should he endeavour to discover those who merited chastisement, many from personal dislike, or private differences, would accuse the innocent; and he thought it better to leave the guilty in alarm and suspense, than to involve any who did not deserve his resentment, in their destruction. Such might, perhaps, learn wisdom from the dread of punishment, and respect the pardon of past delinquencies: whereas death once inflicted, was irremediable. He secured the town, however, by a garrison, as well to check the insurgents, as to encourage the peaceably disposed. Thus, after occasioning the Romans countless toils, was the whole of Galilee subdued.

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### CHAPTER III.

1. No sooner had John set foot within Jerusalem, than the whole population poured forth, crowding in thousands round the several fugitives, and eagerly inquiring what calamities had happened without. But though their respiration, still short and heated, indicated how compulsory had been their movements, they blustered under their disasters,

stating that they had not fled from the Romans, but had come to contend with them on safer ground. "It would have been irrational and useless," said they, "recklessly to expose ourselves to danger for Gischala, and such ill-fortified little towns. It behoves us rather to husband our arms and energies for the capital, and combine in its defence."

When, however, they related the fall of Gischala, men generally considered their so-styled honourable withdrawal from it, as no better than a flight: and when the news arrived of the fate of the prisoners, the utmost consternation seized the people, who thence gathered assured presages of their own capture. John, meanwhile, who blushed not for his desertion of his friends, going his rounds, inclined them severally to warlike measures by exciting their hopes; setting forth in false colours the weakness of the Romans; extolling their own strength, and ridiculing the ignorance of the inexperienced: remarking, that even should the Romans take wings, they would never surmount the ramparts of Jerusalem. They had met with difficulties enough among the villages of Galilee, and had shattered their engines against the walls.

2. By these harangues a large body of the youth were seduced, and incited to hostilities. But of the prudent and aged, there was not one who did not mourn over the prospect of the future, as if the hour of the city's dissolution had already arrived. Such was the confusion which now prevailed among the citizens; but prior to the insurrection in Jerusalem, disturbances had broken out in the country. For Titus had already proceeded from Gischala to Cæsarea, and Vespasian from Cæsarea to Jamnia and Azotus; and having reduced those towns, and thrown garrisons into them, returned, bringing a vast multitude who had surrendered under promise of protection. Tumult and civil war now agitated every city; and such as were allowed breathing time by the Romans, turned their hands against one another. Between the advocates of war and the friends of peace, arose a fierce contention. The spirit of animosity was first kindled in families between which some ancient feud subsisted; but, in the sequel, those united by the dearest ties broke off all mutual connexion, associating severally with persons of views similar to their own, and already forming themselves into adverse factions. Every where sedition reared its head: the disaffected, and those actuated by the love of arms, overpowered, by youth and reckless courage, the aged and the prudent. At first the country population addicted themselves separately to rapine; then, congregated in bands, they carried on their depredations

through the district; insomuch that, in cruelty and lawless violence towards their kindred, they differed in nothing from the Romans; and capture by the latter seemed far less grievous to the sufferers.

3. The garrisons of the towns, meanwhile, partly from reluctance to expose themselves, and partly from hatred to the nation, afforded little or no succour to the distressed; until the chiefs of the brigands, satiated with the pillage of the country, collecting together from all quarters, and forming a phalanx of wickedness, crept into Jerusalem—a city without a governor, and, according to ancient usage, receiving without precaution all of Jewish blood; and the more so at that epoch, from the prevailing belief that those who poured into it came uniformly with kind intentions, as confederates. Yet these in the sequel, irrespectively of the insurrection, overwhelmed the city. For, being a useless and inert mass, they consumed those supplies which might have long supported the fighting men; and, besides the calamities of war, they superinduced the miseries of sedition and famine.

4. There were, moreover, other brigands from the country, who entered the city, and, joining the still more flagitious party within the walls, abstained from no species of enormity. For they measured their daring, not merely by rapine and utter spoliation, but proceeded even to murder, which they perpetrated, not under cover of night, nor clandestinely, nor yet on ordinary persons, but openly and by day, and beginning with the most distinguished individuals. Thus their first victim was Antipas, a man of royal extraction, and the most influential in the city: so much so, indeed, that the care of the public treasury was confided to him. Him they seized, and detained in custody; and after him, in succession, Levias, one of the nobles, and Sophas, son of Raguel—both of regal lineage: treating in like manner those of distinction throughout the district. Dreadful consternation now seized upon the public mind; and as if the city were already taken, personal preservation became the object of solicitude to all.

5. The irons, however, with which the captives were loaded, did not satisfy the brigands; nor did they think it safe thus to detain powerful men for any length of time; inasmuch as their families, from their numerical strength, were capable of avenging their wrongs. Nay, the people, stimulated by such lawless violence, might be moved to rise against themselves. They therefore decreed that they should be put to death, and commissioned one John, called, in their vernacular language, the son of Dorcas, the most prompt of their party

in deeds of murder, to carry their resolution into effect. He, with ten others, accordingly, repaired to the prison with drawn swords, and dispatched those in custody. For an act of such atrocity, they pretended a cogent excuse; alleging that these men had held conferences with the Romans relative to a surrender of Jerusalem: and they gave out that they had slain the betrayers of their common liberty. In short, they gloried in their daring deeds, as though they had been the benefactors and preservers of the city.

6. So abject and terrified had the people now become, and so madly infatuated these brigands, that they assumed authority to appoint to the high priesthood. Accordingly, having abrogated the right of those families from which by succession the high priests had been elected, they ordained to the office the ignoble and low born, that they might have accomplices in their impious proceedings. For they who without desert obtained the highest dignity, were under the necessity of obeying those who conferred it. Moreover, by various artifices and slanderous stories, they brought into collision persons in authority, thus providing opportunity for themselves in the mutual contentions of those who would have thrown obstacles in their way; until, satiated with the wrongs they had inflicted on men, they transferred their insults to the Deity, and entered the sanctuary with polluted feet.

7. The multitude having now risen against them at the instance of Ananus, the senior of the chief priests—a man of consummate wisdom, and one who would perhaps have saved the city, had he escaped the hands of the conspirators,—these wretches converted the temple of God into a fortress, to protect them against any outburst of popular violence; and the holy place became their asylum, and the seat of their tyranny. To these bitter evils they now superadded mockery, still more afflictive than their acts. For, putting to the proof the consternation of the people, and ascertaining their own power, they attempted to appoint the high priests by lot, although, as we have stated, the succession was hereditary. In apology for this insidious attempt, they adduced ancient usage, alleging that formerly the high priesthood had been thus determined: but, in truth, it was an abrogation of a law of peculiar force, and an artifice for the attainment of power, devised by men who sought to have the nomination to official appointments entirely in their own hands.

8. Accordingly, sending for one of the pontifical courses, called Eniachim, they submitted the high priesthood to the lot, which, as fortune would have it, fell to an individual who furnished a singular illustration of their wickedness. His name was Phannias. He was

the son of Samuel, of the village of Aphtha, a man not only not of the number of the chief priests, but who—such a mere rustic was he—scarcely knew what the high priesthood meant. Yet did they drag him reluctant from the country, and setting him forth in a borrowed character, as on the stage, they put the sacred vestments on him, and instructed him how to act on the occasion. This shocking impiety, which to them was a subject of merriment and sport, drew tears from the other priests, who beheld from a distance their law turned into ridicule, and groaned over the subversion of the sacred honours.

9. Such a daring procedure the people could not brook, but, as if for the overthrow of a despotism, were aroused one and all. For the most eminent of them, Gorion the son of Joseph, and Symeon the son of Gamaliel, by public addresses to the collective body, and in private interviews with individuals, urged them now at length to punish these destroyers of liberty, and to purge the sanctuary of its blood-stained polluters. Joshua, the son of Gamala, likewise, and Ananus, son of Ananus, men of highest repute among the chief priests, loudly remonstrating with the people at their meetings on their supineness, incited them against the Zealots; for so they styled themselves, as if zealous in the cause of virtue, rather than pre-eminent in the pursuit of vice in its most aggravated forms.

10. An assembly of the populace having been convened, and all being indignant at the seizure of the sanctuary, at the rapines and murders, but making as yet no attempt at resistance, from an apprehension, not ill-founded, of the difficulty of mastering the Zealots, Ananus standing in the midst, and frequently looking at the Temple, his eyes filled with tears, thus spoke:—

“Happy had it been for me to have died, ere I had seen the house of God filled with such abominations, and the unapproachable and holy places crowded with the feet of murderers. And yet, clothed with the vestments of the high priesthood, and called by that most honoured of venerated names, I live, and, too fond of life, shrink from a death which would be the glory of my old age. Yet alone though I be, and as it were isolated, I will resign my single life for God. For why should I live amongst a people insensible to their calamities, and in whom has perished the disposition to grapple with present misfortunes? Thus, plundered, you submit: beaten, you are silent: and over the murdered not one unstifled groan is heard!

“Oh, bitter tyranny! But why do I complain of the tyrants? For have they not been fostered by you and your forbearance? Have not you, overlooking their first assemblages, when they were



yet few, augmented their numbers by silence; and, by remaining quiet while they were arming, turned their arms against yourselves? Albeit you should have repressed their first efforts, when they were assailing your kindred with invectives; but your negligence incited the wretches to rapine, for, when houses were pillaged, not a word was breathed. Therefore their masters were forcibly carried off; and, while they were being dragged through the midst of the city, no arm was raised in their defence.

“They next tortured with chains those betrayed by you. I forbear to tell their number and characters; but they were unaccused, and uncondemned. No one succoured them when thrown into irons: it followed that we were to look on at their massacre. And we did look on at this; while continually, as from a herd of cattle, the best was led out for sacrifice, nor was there one that raised his voice, or so much as moved a hand. Can you bear, then—can you bear to see your sacred things trampled on? And though you have laid down for these profane wretches steps for their arrogance to mount by, do you not ill brook the eminence they have attained? For now assuredly would they have proceeded to something greater, had they had aught greater than the sanctuary to overthrow. The strongest point in the city, however, has been seized; for henceforth must the temple be spoken of only as a citadel or fortress.

“But while you are held by a despotism so fortified, and behold your enemies above your heads, on what do you deliberate? or by what arguments do you calm your minds? Is it that you await the arrival of the Romans to succour our holy places? Are matters so with the city? Have we reached such a point of misery, that even enemies should pity us? Will you not arise, most enduring of men, and turning round upon the lash, as the wild beast when smitten, take vengeance on those that strike you? Will you not recall each to your recollection your own personal calamities, and, placing before your eyes all that you have suffered, whet your souls for revenge? Is, then, utterly lost among you that most honourable of the passions, that most closely interwoven with our nature, the desire of freedom? We are become lovers of slavery, and of the hand that deals it, as if we had inherited from our ancestors a spirit of submission. Yet many and arduous were the contests they maintained for independence; nor did they so far bow to the sceptre either of the Egyptians or of the Medes, as not to fulfil the requirements of their own laws. But why need I speak of our forefathers? We are now engaged in a war against the Romans—I forbear to decide whether that war be profitable and expedient, or the contrary—but what is the pretext for it?

Is it not freedom? Shall we, then, refuse obedience to the masters of the habitable globe, and yet tolerate domestic tyrants? Truly, though submission to a foreign power may be borne, when once fortune has proved adverse, yet to yield to our own countrymen, and they profligates, argues us to be ignoble and voluntary slaves.

“But, since I have mentioned the Romans, I will not conceal from you what occurred to me while I was speaking, and turned my thoughts to them. It is this: that although we should fall beneath their arms—and far from us be the experience of that word—we can be called to endure nothing more grievous than what these men have already inflicted on us. Is it not worthy of tears to behold the donatives of the Romans in our temple, and the plunder of fellow-countrymen, who have despoiled and sacrificed our noble metropolis, and to look on at the slaughter of our friends—enormities from which even they would have abstained, had they been victorious? May it not, I say, well call forth our tears, that Romans never overstepped the limits assigned to the profane, nor infringed any of our sacred usages, regarding at a distance, and with trembling awe, the enclosures of our sanctuary: while some, born in this very country, brought up under our institutions, and bearing the name of Jews, walk unconcerned in the midst of the holy places, their hands still warm with kindred blood?

“Who, then, would dread a war from without, and foes who, in comparison, are much more lenient to us than our own countrymen? And verily, if we adapt our language to the facts, Romans may perhaps be found supporters of the laws, while their enemies are within our walls. And I feel persuaded that there is not one among you who did not come from home satisfied that these conspirators against liberty deserve to die, and that it is impossible to devise a punishment worthy of their misdeeds. And confident I am that, even prior to my address, their conduct, the source of so much suffering, had exasperated you against them.

“But, probably, the greater part of you are terror-struck at their numbers, their daring spirit, and the further advantages which they derive from their position. But as these arose from your supineness, so will they be increased by your delay. For their ranks are gaining daily accessions, as every villain deserts to his like; and having up to the present hour met with no obstacle, their daring is the more inflamed. And as to their position being above us, that they must enjoy, and along with it, if we give them time, the benefit of preparation. But be assured, if we attack them, they will be lower than we in point of conscience, and reflection will annihilate the advantage



of a more elevated situation. Perhaps, too, the Deity, whom they have treated with such contumely, will turn back their missiles against themselves, and the impious will perish by their own weapons. Let us only show ourselves to them, and they are unnerved. But, although some danger attend, it were honourable to die before the sacred gates, and to lay down life, if not in behalf of children and wives, yet for God and the sanctuary. I will aid you both with my counsel and my hand; and nothing on our part, which reflection can suggest, shall be wanting for your safety; nor shall you see me spare this body."

11. In this language Ananus incited the people against the Zealots, not ignorant, at the same time, how difficult it would be to subdue them, from their numbers, vigour, and intrepidity, but, above all, from their consciousness of their crimes, as having no hope of ever obtaining pardon for all they had perpetrated. But he preferred submitting to any suffering rather than remain passive while affairs were in such confusion. The multitude then cried out to be led against those whom he denounced, each evincing the utmost promptitude to stand forward in danger.

12. But while Ananus was mustering and arraying those fit for service, the Zealots, hearing how he was employed—for there were some present who acquainted them with everything that was going forward among the people—rushed in a high state of excitement from the temple, both in large and smaller bodies, and spared none that fell in their way. Ananus hastily collected the populace, who, though superior in numbers, were inferior to their opponents in weapons, and from the total want of discipline. But the deficiencies of either party ardour supplied. Those from the city were inspired with a fury more powerful than arms; those from the temple by a daring which no numbers could withstand: the former persuaded that the city would be uninhabitable for them unless the brigands were rooted out of it; the Zealots that, should they not conquer, there was no punishment which they would not undergo.

Contending under the sway of their passions, they at first assailed one another with stones in the city, and before the temple, and maintained a distant combat with javelins; but when either side gave way, the victors employed their swords. The slaughter on both sides was great, and the wounded were many. When any of the populace were injured, their relations carried them into the houses; while the wounded Zealots retired to the temple, their blood dripping on the sacred pavement; and it may be said, that no blood but theirs stained the holy places. Thus far the brigands had always been

successful in their sallies; but the populace becoming infuriated, and gaining constant accessions, and upbraiding those that gave way, while those who pressed on in the rear refused to open a passage for the fugitives, they turned their whole force against their opponents; and the brigands, able no longer to withstand the shock, gradually withdrew into the temple, Ananus and his party falling in along with them. Filled with dismay at the loss of the outer court, they fled into the inner, and instantly shut the gates. Ananus, thinking it unseemly to assail the sacred doors, though galled by the missiles of his adversaries from above, and deeming it unlawful, even should he prove victor, to introduce the multitude without previous purification, selected by lot out of all six thousand armed men, whom he stationed as sentinels at the colonnades, others relieving these, and every one being obliged to attend the watch in his turn. Many of the nobles, however, being allowed to retire by those in command, hired some of the lower classes, and sent them to mount guard in their stead.

13. The ruin of this entire party may be attributed to John, whose flight from Gischala we have related. He was a man of consummate craft, and, bearing in his breast an unbounded passion for arbitrary power, had long been covertly plotting against the state. At this juncture, pretending to side with the populace, he accompanied Ananus by day when he went to consult with the leading men, and by night when he visited the watch, betraying his secrets to the Zealots; so that every plan brought forward by the people, even before it had been well digested, was communicated by him to their opponents. In order that he might escape suspicion, he conducted himself with unbounded obsequiousness towards Ananus and the heads of the popular party. But his assiduity had a contrary effect; for his extravagant flatteries caused him the rather to be suspected, while his unsought presence on every occasion afforded a presumption that it was he who betrayed their secrets. For it was evident that their enemies were cognisant of all their deliberations, nor was any one more exposed to the suspicion of disclosure than John.

It was no easy matter, however, to shake him off, so powerful had he become by his villanies, and connected as he was with many not undistinguished men, who met in council on the general weal. It was therefore deemed advisable to bind him by oath to good faith. Without any hesitation John swore that he would be true to the people, betray neither counsel nor act to their adversaries, and assist both by his personal exertions and advice in reducing their assailants.

Relying on the oath, Ananus and his party now admitted him without suspicion to their deliberations: nay, they even sent him to the Zealots with proposals for an accommodation; for they were careful to preserve the temple from being polluted by these men, or stained with Jewish blood.

14. John, however, as if he had sworn fealty to the Zealots, rather than against them, entered the temple, and, standing in the midst of them, observed that he had often encountered danger on their behalf, in order that they might be ignorant of none of the secret schemes devised by Ananus and his faction to their prejudice; but that now all were likely to be involved in the most imminent peril, unless some providential interposition should avert it, as Ananus, wearied with delay, had prevailed on the people to send a deputation to Vespasian, inviting him to come and take immediate possession of the city. He had, moreover, as a device against them, appointed a purification service on the ensuing day, in order that his adherents might obtain admission, either under the guise of religion, or by force of arms, and attack them; and he did not see how they could, for any length of time, hold the post, or sustain a conflict against so many opponents.

He added, that it was through the providence of God that he had been deputed to negotiate an adjustment of differences, as Ananus had proffered them terms, that he might fall upon them when unarmed. "It was incumbent on them, therefore, if they had any regard for their lives, either to sue for mercy to their besiegers, or provide some external succour. If they cherished hope of pardon in the event of their being subdued, they must either have forgotten their own daring deeds, or suppose that, as soon as the perpetrators expressed contrition, the sufferers ought immediately to be reconciled to them. But even the penitence of offenders is often hateful, while the resentment of the injured is whetted by power. The friends and kindred of the slain are always on the watch to retaliate, as are a large mass of the people, who are incensed at the dissolution of their laws and courts of justice. And even should there be any inclined to compassion, they would be overpowered by an indignant majority."

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## CHAPTER IV.

1. THESE representations he diversified, inspiring universal terror; and, though he did not venture openly to mention external aid, he hinted at the Idumæans. In order privately to exasperate the leaders of the Zealots, he accused Ananus of cruelty, stating that he had made them the objects of his especial threats. These were Elcazar son of Simon, who was most confided in of the party for his ability, both in devising suitable measures, and in carrying them into execution; and Zacharias son of Phalek. Both were of sacerdotal lineage. These individuals, on hearing the menaces directed against themselves, in addition to those against the faction in general, and, moreover, that Ananus and his associates, with a view to secure the reins of power, had invited the Romans to their aid—for this, also, John had falsely alleged—were deeply perplexed as to what steps they should take in an emergency so pressing. The people were preparing ere long to attack them; the suddenness of the scheme had cut off all prospect of succour from without; and they might be in the last extremity before their confederates could learn their situation.

It was resolved, however, that the Idumæans should be called in. Accordingly a letter was written in few words, to the effect, that “Ananus had imposed upon the people, and wished to betray the capital to the Romans; that, having in the cause of freedom engaged in revolt, they were themselves now in custody in the temple; that for a little time they could promise themselves safety; but that, unless the Idumæans brought them early relief, they would soon be in the power of Ananus and their enemies, and the city in possession of the Romans.” Instructions also were given to the messengers, who were to confer orally with the Idumæan chiefs. There were selected for the errand two energetic men, of fluent and persuasive eloquence on public affairs, and, what was still more to the purpose, remarkably swift of foot. For they knew that the Idumæans would at once comply, as a people turbulent and impatient of control, ever on the watch for commotion, and delighting in change; moved to arms on the slightest flattery from those who invited them, and hurrying to battle as to a feast. Speed was essential to the errand; and nothing wanting in alacrity for this end, the messengers, each named Ananias, soon presented themselves before the chiefs of Idumæa.

2. Astonished by the despatches and statements of the couriers, they ran through the nation, like madmen, proclaiming an expedition.

## SUPPOSED REMAINS OF HERODIUM.

(VOL. I. p. 144.)

THAT we may not appear to assume as certain what perhaps may not yet have been put beyond question, these ruins of towers on the Frank Mountain are, on the plate, designated as “supposed” remains of the structures mentioned in the text, WAR, I. 21, 10. Nevertheless, that they are really such, seems to be in the highest degree probable. In this instance, however, as in so many of a similar kind we must await the result of those explorations which are sure to be made, and perhaps at no remote time, and which, if carried on at leisure, in security, and with sufficient means at command, will determine many questions relating to the ancient Palestine, and throw a new light upon its history. In the instance before us, a little exploration of the foundations of the towers, and the carrying a trench across the space enclosed by them, would, as we can scarcely doubt, bring to light some unquestionable indications of Herod’s structures; and thus, while this one spot was identified, accumulative evidence would be obtained, serving to determine some other and less unequivocal points of topography. Meantime a service is rendered to archæological science, if those spots are indicated, which are the most likely to reward the labours of future travellers in Palestine. The Frank Mountain is undoubtedly a site of this kind.

What Josephus affirms concerning that Herodium which, of the two he mentions was nearest to Jerusalem, entirely consists, as well with the position, as with the present appearance of the remains before us. He says that two fortress-palaces were constructed by Herod, each with the intention, as it seems, of affording him—like Masada—a place of refuge in the event of popular commotions, and of perpetuating his name; and one of them was to serve as his place of sepulture. And it was the one now in question, probably, (not that towards Arabia,) which was to receive, and which in fact did receive, his remains. This Herodium is said to have been an artificial mound—*κολωνὸν ὄντα χειροποίητον*, and so may have been the actual apex, or truncated cone, of what is called the Frank Mountain. This apex is stated to rise about 300 feet above the level of the broader hill, of which it forms the central point, and which itself has an elevation of 300 or 400 feet above the level of the adjoining Wady. On what account it might merit the epithet bestowed upon it—*μαστοειδὴς*, better than does almost any even-surfaced rotund hill, does not appear; and it is probable



that ample justice would be done to the phrase, here employed by Josephus, and its whole import conveyed, if it were rendered with a less rigid regard to its etymology. In translating this word somewhat more laxly, we should be sustained by a passage in Polybius (V. 70), who, in speaking of Itabyrium, says it is situated upon a round hill (Tabor), ἐπὶ λόφου μαστοειδοῦς—in *rotundo colle*. The Frank Mountain, now assumed to be the Herodium of Josephus, although not to be compared with Tabor, and not rising to half its height, is yet such as that to it, and with nearly equal propriety, may be applied the term which Josephus employs in describing it, as Polybius does in speaking of the other. The Frank Mountain, in fact, is seen far and wide, and it attracts the eye from almost every eminence of this district, south of Jerusalem.

"It is impossible," says Mr. Tipping, "for the eye to take a survey from any of the heights round about Jerusalem, without at once singling out the regularly conical volcanic-like Frank Mountain. You will, I think, discover it in several of my views. The circumjacent country is desolate and devoid of trees; presenting nothing but the interminable featureless hills of Judæa, looking like patchwork, from the intermixture of the smooth limestone surface with scanty herbage. At the foot of the mountain, among numerous vestiges of masonry and traces of terraces, I detected stones of moderate dimensions, with the bevelled peculiarity, and a sprinkling of Roman tesserae; and besides the reservoir alluded to by previous travellers, there is a large massively built oblong erection, which I took to be the same as that described by Pococke as a church. It appeared, however, to me to bear more of a palatial, than of an ecclesiastical, stamp; nevertheless, my visit to the spot being limited in time, I could not pursue investigations which might perhaps have warranted a satisfactory conclusion. The vaulting and masonry are solid and fine; the stones large and well finished: I should not hesitate to call it Roman. A few minutes' sharp climbing among long grass brought me to the summit, where I traced the remains of a wall enclosing the depressed concave interior, with four equidistant circular towers, of which the one at the north-east corner is the best preserved. The two western ones are all but obliterated, as regards the masonry. On the north-east side are the walls of an ancient passage-way, running from the top to the bottom, which doubtless enclosed the highly-wrought flight of steps mentioned by Josephus. I noticed in the north-east tower a cistern or granary, which, though of smaller dimensions, is similar to those at Masada: but, with the exception of these receptacles, the towers appear to have been solidly filled up." The engraving (vignette) shows the least dilapidated of the towers, and the one at the south-east corner, and also the depression in the centre.

It will be understood, therefore, that the summit of this volcano-like hill is occupied by the remains of four circular towers, and that these are surrounded by a wall, skirting the edge of the summit: a deep depression marks the central space. The view given in the Plate is taken from this

encircling wall, on its northern side, the direction of the eye being due south, and toward the central hollow: the foremost object is the round tower—mentioned by Mr. Tipping, toward the north-east; the ruin more remote, being that of the south-east tower: beyond the range of this view, and of course toward the right hand, and opposite to the towers here exhibited, are the less entire remains of the north-west and south-west towers.

Mr. Wolcott—American missionary, who was Mr. Tipping's companion in this excursion (to Masada and the shores of the Dead Sea) thus describes this spot:—

“On the following morning (March 17th) we proceeded to the Frank Mountain; passing on our way 'Ain Hamdeh and a scarcely perceptible site, called Bedefelüh. Having reached the summit of the mountain and examined its remains, we noticed an ancient passage-way, twelve feet wide, running straight down the north-eastern side of the descent. The upper part was a little depressed, and the lower raised; and the rubbish remains in the latter. The ground below, on the north of it, is raised by terraces, built with stones like those on the summit. I had noted these points before observing their exact coincidence with the account given by Josephus of the fortress of Herodium; though the steps of polished stones, in number two hundred, which composed a straight ascent up, are of course swept away. The ruins below are evidently Roman, and are more extensive than they appear from the summit; but the character of the buildings cannot be fully determined. Two vaults of hewn stone remain; and below a wall, three hundred feet in length (in part perhaps a terrace) are the foundations of a round tower. Among the ruins adjacent to the large reservoir, are bevelled stones and the small tesserae of Mosaic work. The present name of the site is Stobal.

“This burial-place of Herod was the last spot which we examined; and I cannot here take leave of Josephus, our travelling companion, without a testimony of my confidence in him as an historian. On some points, especially in respect to dimensions and distances, he has given only estimates, often imperfect and loose. But in the particulars in which I have had occasion to compare and prove him, I have been impressed with his general accuracy, and my surprise is, that, under the circumstances in which he wrote, he should have produced so faithful a narrative.”—*Bibliotheca Sacra*, No. I. p. 69.

Let us now turn to Josephus.—We have already observed that the distance of the Frank Mountain from Jerusalem corresponds, as nearly as can be expected, with that of the Herodium, as reported by our author—namely, sixty stadia. The Frank Mountain, in a straight line, measures seven and a half Roman miles, nearly equal to sixty Greek stadia, and rather less than seven English miles. Moreover, if we assume this same radius, there occurs no eminence around the Holy City which might at all compete with this, as being probably the Herodium of Josephus. He calls this round eminence “an artificial mound,”—*κολωνὸν ὄντα χειροποίητον*, intending, as we suppose, a



natural hill heightened, fashioned and fortified by art. This application of the term is in fact of frequent occurrence : thus Polybius, speaking of a hill-fort taken and levelled by Philip, describes it as fortified, as well by nature as by art—*ὀχυρότητι δὲ φυσικῇ καὶ χειροποιήτῃ*—IV. 64, 9. It was the Greek usage, as the same writer elsewhere assures us—VI. 42, 2—thus to make available any natural advantages of a site which might spare labour ; nor do the Romans seem to have neglected such incidental aids in their permanent military structures, although, in constructing their camps, they might disregard whatever would interfere with the dimensions and proportions prescribed for such works. Having mentioned the various and costly structures which crowned and surrounded this hill—*γεώλοφον*, and which alone met the eye, either from a distance or from the summit, it might be spoken of as being “entirely artificial ;” although, in fact, a natural elevation had formed its rudiment. This circumstance, however, is not the point most material to our present purpose. Josephus tells us that the “summit Herod embraced with circular towers ;” not informing us with how many. The remains of four such towers, as we have said, now occupy the summit of the Frank Mountain, and their position and distance from each other would seem to indicate that there were, and could be, no more. “Outer walls,” also, are mentioned, and the ruins of an encircling rampart are still apparent. The traces of extensive ruins moreover around the hill, and these in Roman style, and with a sprinkling of tesserae and bevelled stones, accord with the supposition now in question.

This supposition is further strengthened by the fact, mentioned both by Mr. Tipping and Mr. Wolcott, that a passage-way, on the north (or north-east) side, running from the top to the bottom, and twelve feet wide, indicates the existence of an ascent, well comporting with our author’s account of the flight of two hundred steps of “the whitest marble,” which made the access to the palace easy.

The later history of this mound, and of these ruins, does not bear upon our purpose ; and, indeed, their later history is mingled with unauthenticated and improbable legends. It is enough that the existing remains, through whatever mutations they may have passed during the middle ages, exhibit indubitable marks of a Roman origin ; and that they perfectly consist with our author’s description of Herod’s sumptuous structures at a place “sixty furlongs from Jerusalem.” Without therefore assuming as *certain*, or as beyond all possibility of doubt, that which in truth is only in the highest degree probable, short of absolute certainty, we would attach to an instance of coincidence, such as this, precisely that degree of importance which it deserves. Regarded simply in an archæological sense, the identification of a site so remarkable, and the means thus afforded for tracing other connected points of Jewish topography, is not an inconsiderable matter. But we never lose sight of a further, and a more important, purpose—a purpose already frequently adverted to, and in behalf of which we must yet, and frequently, claim the reader’s attention. We mean the incidental, and

therefore the conclusive, corroboration derivable from these sources, of the historic authority of the writings now before us. Our position is this—that Josephus, when not influenced (as in particular instances undoubtedly he was) by sinister motives, is to be regarded as a well-informed and authentic writer; and that the history he has left in our hands, when such deductions as a rigid criticism may demand have been made from his statements, affords us a firm ground—in relation, at least, to the events of his own times. In making good this position, our course is not that of a merely literary analysis of his text, and which, however skilfully conducted, might still leave an ambiguous impression upon the reader's mind; but it is that of an inductive accumulation of what may well be called palpable instances—proofs presented to the eye—tangible attestations which the soil of Palestine, through centuries of revolution, has faithfully conserved, and which it now renders up to be employed for illustrating and authenticating whatever belongs to the most momentous era of the history of man. Let it not be thought that we are labouring to sustain a mighty fabric by the means of single and questionable instances. What we are doing is to accumulate instances, which, when taken in their collective force, must render our ultimate conclusion irresistible. Further and more exact researches in Palestine, if they should remove some from our list of confirmatory instances, will probably add to it a greater number, which hitherto have escaped notice. In the present case it should be added, that, in no other place where Josephus mentions Herodium does he add any circumstance incompatible with the assumption we are now making; and in the instance of one of these allusions, what he incidentally affirms, decisively confirms it:—WAR, IV. 9, 5, where, in mentioning an incursion of Simon and his bands, who encamped at a place called Thecoa, he adds, that he thence sent one of his officers to seduce, if he could, the garrison of Herodium, which was near to it—*διὰ περ ἦν πλησίον*. Now the position of Thecoa, at a distance less than three miles south-west of the Frank Mountain, is placed beyond doubt, as well by various and conclusive ancient testimonies, as by the perpetuation of the name in the modern Tekûa.

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#### EXCAVATION; CITY WALL, NORTH.

IN bringing forward those of this series of Plates that belong to the Holy City, such a selection of subjects has been made as would best serve to exhibit the principal portions of two great mural circuits, namely—that of the Temple enclosure, and that of the city walls. The former—the quadrangle of the Haram—will have been shown on each of its sides, and at several points of view; the latter, also to such an extent, in several of them, as to leave very few portions of it unrepresented. While

some of these views embrace, either one entire side of the city, or so much of the wall as is visible from one spot, others—and the one now before us is of that kind—exhibit a very limited range, and therefore admit of so much detail as to show the style of architecture, and to indicate those intermixtures of earlier and later masonry which characterise almost every structure in Jerusalem.

It is the northern wall—the bend inclosing the high ground of Bezetha, and then running on from the Damaseus gate toward the Latin Convent, that has, in every age, sustained the shock of besieging armies; for on this side the approach to the walls is much less acclivitous than on any other; and, at the same time, the level ground, affording room for military evolutions, is much more extensive in this direction than elsewhere. On this side also a broad swell of land, north of the valley of Jehoshaphat, rises—at Scopus, to a commanding height; and it is, therefore, a position which would always be chosen as the base of operations directed against the city.

The wall on this northern side—as appears in the Plate—is itself of commanding altitude; and it runs, for the most part, upon a precipitous ridge, which in several places, as at this point, has been rendered more so artificially. A little further toward the east a wide fosse commences, and runs on to the corner, which it turns. What purpose precisely the excavation here represented was intended to subserve, or, indeed, to what age it should be attributed, or by whom effected, does not appear; but it is one of those spots to which it is well to direct the attention of travellers, inasmuch as it offers itself to exploration, which might probably reveal—if nothing more—the date of the foundations of the wall, and furnish perhaps conclusive evidence bearing on several questions that are still controverted. To some of these questions it would be most unwarrantable to introduce any allusion in a work such as this; but there are others which materially affect the interpretation that should be put upon several passages in our author's history, especially his narrative of the siege. In relation to such points, our course would be clear if Jerusalem, like any European city, had long been, and were now (if we might so speak) in the hand of the antiquarian—open at all points to diligent scrutiny. In that case it might be well to adopt, at once, an opinion, and to sustain it by all available means. But a far more cautious, and therefore a less satisfactory, course is dictated to us, and especially so at the present moment, in dealing with the topography of Jerusalem. In this instance, an unlooked-for, and, as it may seem, an improbable, turn of affairs, may enable European archaeologists to dispense with questionable argumentation, and to appeal to such palpable evidences as must be exclusive of controversy. The Holy City is the *mine* of sacred history, and it is a mine into which no shaft has as yet been sunk. The surface only has been partially examined; and this, while it indicates the existence of a deep-seated treasure, is far from having furnished a sufficient warrant for any confident conclusions; except, indeed, upon two or three points of an obvious kind. When

Moslem fanaticism shall have vacated Palestine, Jewish archæology—Jewish history, will require to be re-written, or extensively amended. There cannot be a doubt that the foundations of the walls, gates, towers, palaces, and Temple, might be traced, by means of well-directed and not very difficult cuts, effected across the site; such, in fact, as will inevitably be made whenever European improvements come to be applied to the Holy City.

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### MAGDALA.

THE scenery around the lake of Galilee, such as it appears in its simple reality, and unaided by the licence of ambitious art, will have been placed before the reader in a series of Plates exhibiting the shores of this water as seen from the most characteristic points around its circuit: reference to a map will make it easy to connect the whole, as furnishing an almost complete panorama of the hills within which it is embosomed. The view from the Theatre of Om Keis, already described (Vol. I. p. xxxv.) presents the lake to as great advantage, perhaps, as any other spot; showing its extent, obliquely, from south-east to north-west, and exhibiting the general aspect of the western shore, and the bordering hills of Galilee. The view of Tarichæa (Vol. I. p. 50) taken in a nearly opposite direction—that is to say, looking toward Om Keis—shows the southern extremity of the lake, and a portion of the eastern ranges, beyond the Jordan, and its tributary, the Yarmûk. The shore line, northward from Tarichæa, embracing the site and neighbourhood of Tiberias, is seen in the view of the Ilot Baths (Vol. I. p. 41). A view of Tiberias, looking over the town, and across the lake, in a direction toward the lofty ridge of Jebel Sheik, embraces the north, and north-eastern shores and hills. The Plate, to which the reader's attention is in this instance invited, was taken from a jutting ridge, or offset from the hills, running down to the margin of the water at about three miles' distance north-west from Tiberias. The dilapidated village El Mejdæl—a name believed to conserve within its consonants the ancient Magdala—catches the light on the edge of the rising foreground, which slopes down to the water's edge. Beyond this village, a triangular plain of small dimensions stretches itself out, at the foot of the hills, through the midst of which a stream, fed during the rainy season from their eastern slopes, takes its course. This little plat, scarcely measuring three miles in its extreme length, and one and a half in breadth, is, on some good ground of probability, assumed to be the Gennesareth of the Gospel history; Capernaum being situated at the northern extremity of the plain, and, in the view before us, just at the foot of the hills toward the right. A view of the same plain from *that* spot, or near to it, Khan Minyeh, will next come to be noticed.



The hills, which shut in this plain of Gennesareth, have an altitude and a variety of outline which render the scene more picturesque than most around the lake. The lofty Safed—catching a gleam of light against the dark sky, shows itself above the nearer range:—it is “the city set on a hill.” Whether or not the allocation of ancient and evangelical names be quite free from doubt, it is certain beyond all reasonable question, that this hill-encircled plain was one of the spots most frequented by our Lord, during the several seasons of his “abode in Galilee.” This plain is one of the very few spots around the margin of the lake, whereupon “great multitudes of people” could easily find space and room: it contained also several villages where Christ and his personal followers might be entertained: and, moreover, the abrupt eminences, the deep ravines, and the secluded nooks, which abound among the hills immediately adjacent, readily afforded those opportunities for retirement from the crowd, of which, as the Evangelists tell us, he failed not often to avail himself. The religious reader, then—without accusing himself of too easily yielding to a romantic credulity—may take the evangelic history in hand, and imagine himself to see the crowds dispersing that had listened, on the margin of the lake, while “Jesus taught them from a ship” close in shore, and while looking at these impending heights, he may believe that they were those which offered the Saviour a place of repose when he “withdrew with his disciples to a mountain to pray.”

Of a very different complexion, indeed, are the transactions with which the narrative of Josephus—earlier as well as later—connects these same spots. No moral contrast can be more violent than that which meets us, when, turning from the peace-breathing passages of the Gospel history, we make a search, in the page of the Jewish historian, for the names of places so familiar to our ears. It is however partially only, and incidentally, that Josephus finds occasion to mention the places most noted in the Gospels; and, on the other hand, of the many cities, towns and villages named by him, it is a very few only that occur also in the Gospels; and unless a various reading be adopted in one passage—LIFE, 24—Magdala is not among the few. The Hebrew import of the word is—tower or castle, and by implication, on the ground of circumstantial evidence, the tower of Gamala, so frequently referred to in the Life, and elsewhere, has been taken to intend *this* tower, and this Magdala: that it was near to Tiberias seems certain, if we admit the evidence of the Talmudists (as cited by Lightfoot, *Cent. LXXVI.*); and if so, then this plain, and its bordering heights, were the scene of several of the petty conflicts, and marauding assaults, recorded by Josephus in his Life; and they witnessed also the more terrific encounters of the Galilean insurgents with the Roman legions; or if our subject allowed so remote a digression, and we were to trace the history of this same spot, and its vicinity, as far onward as to the crusading age, we should find it signalized by some of the most deadly of the conflicts that took place between the Moslem and Christian hosts. It was among these very hills, and scarcely two miles from the

skirts of the plain of Gennesareth—that is to say, immediately on the western face of the dark hill on the left, in this view, that the Sultan Saladin, in one terrible day, scattered the Christian forces, and broke, finally, the power of the European invaders in the East. The very same spot, however, is brought within our proper range by our author's narrative of Herod's exploits in vanquishing the brigands of Galilee.

Two views, presently to be adverted to, exhibit the precipitous fronts of the rocks, at, or near, Hatîn, the perpendicular surfaces of which are pierced with almost innumerable excavations, and which were the retreats of the robbers of that age, as well as of those of later times. But before these are described, it will best conduce to a clear understanding of the topography of a region claiming so much regard, to pursue our course from Magdala, in a direction north-east, along the shore of the lake, about three miles, and until we reach a spot already mentioned, where the hills again approach the margin of the water (the extreme right in the view of Magdala). From that spot, and at a place called Khan Minyeh, we turn and look over the plain we have just skirted, in a direction nearly south-west. The view thence obtained is presented in the Plate—

### THE PLAIN OF GENNESARETH.

THE lake appears, in this view, of course, on the left hand, and the horizon is bounded by the hills toward its southern end—above Tiberias, and then by those of Magdala. The peculiar appearance of the distant rocks immediately overhanging the plain, toward the right, should be noticed: these are the above-mentioned precipitous fronts of Ibn Ma'an, and Hatîn, which, with their honeycomb excavations, were the head-quarters of the ancient brigands. The level ground which forms the mid-distance in this view is a rich flat, well watered, and is susceptible in the highest degree of profitable culture. The foreground presents the ruins of a viaduct, or bridge, as well as Khan, and the scattered remains of an ancient town. That this spot was in fact the site of Capernaum, and that the plain is "the region of Gennesareth," is an inference resulting from a concurrence of circumstantial evidence—no part of it absolutely conclusive, but the whole sufficient to justify an assumption thus guardedly expressed.

The tract of country which Josephus, (WAR, III. 10, 8,) calls Gen-nésar, and whence the lake received its appellation, although it is not *by him* so clearly defined as to enable us to decide where, on the shores of this sea, it should be looked for, could not have been on the eastern side—if the Evangelic narrative is duly regarded; nor is there on the western side *any other level space* to which that description can be made to apply. Moreover Rabbinical testimony supports the same conclusion. Our author thus describes the plain, now in question; and the passage it may be well to cite in this instance, presenting as it does so striking a contrast between the ancient luxuriance and the present desolation of a region, the

natural advantages of which—the deep rich soil—the abundant irrigation and the genial climate, are all unchanged and unspent, and are awaiting the hand of man.

“Extending along the Lake of Gennesareth, and bearing also its name, lies a tract of country, admirable both for its natural properties and its beauty. Such is the fertility of the soil that it rejects no plant; and accordingly all are here cultivated by the husbandman; for so genial is the air, that it suits every variety. The walnut, which delights beyond other trees in a wintry climate, grows here luxuriantly, where also is the palm-tree, which is nourished by heat; and near to these are figs and olives, to which a milder atmosphere has been assigned. One might style this an ambitious effort of nature, doing violence to herself, in bringing together plants of discordant habits; and an amiable rivalry of the seasons, each as it were asserting her right to the soil; for it not only possesses the extraordinary virtue of nourishing fruits of opposite elimes, but also maintains a continual supply of them. Thus it produces those most royal of all—the grape and the fig, during ten months without intermission; while the other varieties ripen the whole year through; for besides being favoured by the genial temperature of the air, it is irrigated by a highly fertilizing spring, called Capharnaum, by the people of the country. This some have thought a vein of the Nile, from its producing a fish similar to the Coracine of the lake of Alexandria. This tract, trending along the shores of the lake, which bears its name, is thirty furlongs in length, and twenty in breadth.”

This measurement exceeds a little, but not much, the dimensions of the plain before us, reckoning the level space up to the very foot of the hills. The luscious and “royal fruits” here mentioned are all gone; but they might, no doubt, be made to reclaim their ancient home: the soil is rich and deep, the supply of water unfailing, and the mean temperature certainly not less than in former times. Beside a stream, breaking down from the heights, at the spot just above the village seen in the view of Magdala, and the waters of which are carried in many channels over the surface, there are two fountains, the one in the western skirt of the plain, and the other at its northern extremity, at Khau Miuyeh, near to the point of view in the other Plate. Which of these may claim to be the fountain, Capharnaum of Josephus, seems to be questionable—probably it is the latter; and if so, the town, Capernaum, was undoubtedly not far distant.

“We took a path,” says Professor Robinson, “along the inner side of the plain at the foot of the western hills, in order to examine some ruins said to exist in that direction. . . . We soon struck an artificial water-course, coming down from before us, in which was a considerable brook, irrigating this part of the plain. This we followed up, and found it scattering its rills and diffusing verdure in all directions. At 10<sup>h</sup> 10' we reached a large and beautiful fountain, rising immediately at the foot of the western line of hills. At first we had taken it for the source of the brook which we had followed up; but we now found that the latter is brought from the



stream of Wady er-Rübüdizeh, further north; and is carried along the hill-side above this fountain, to water the more southern parts of the plain." This round fountain, which the Professor does not think to be the one mentioned by Josephus, is, he says, "inclosed by a low circular wall of masonry, forming a reservoir nearly a hundred feet in diameter; the water is perhaps two feet deep, beautifully limpid and sweet, bubbling up and flowing out rapidly in a large stream, to water the plain below. Numerous small fish were sporting in the basin; which is so thickly surrounded by trees and brushwood that a traveller would be apt to pass by without noticing it. The Oleander (*Diffeh*) was growing here in great abundance, now in full bloom; and Nübk-trees were also very frequent. The waters of this fountain irrigate the ground between it and the lake; but those from Wady er-Rübüdizeh, being higher up, and still more copious, are carried over the more northern and southern portions of the plain."—*Bib. Res.* III. 284.

Burckhardt passed over this ground in a different direction. He places the site of Caperuaum at a point two miles further north—Tel Houm; and in proceeding southward says, "We came to a ruined khan, near the borders of the Lake, called Mennye (*Minyeh*), a large and well constructed building." This building must have fallen much into decay since the time of Burckhardt's visit, 1812—an interval of thirty years. He continues—"Here begins a plain of about twenty minutes in breadth, to the north of which the mountain stretches down close to the lake. That plain is covered with the tree called Doum, or Thedar, which bears a small yellow fruit like the Zaarour. It was now almost mid-day, and the sun intensely hot: we therefore looked out for a shady spot, and reposed under a very large fig-tree, at the foot of which a rivulet of sweet water gushes out from beneath the rocks, and falls into the lake at a few hundred paces distant. The tree has given its name to the spring, *Ain-et-Tin*; near it are several other springs, which occasion a very luxuriant herbage along the borders of the lake. The pastures of Mennye are proverbial for their richness among the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries. High reeds grow along the shore, but I found none of the aromatic reeds and rushes mentioned by Strabo."—*Syria and the Holy Land*, p. 319.

Strabo, in the place referred to by Burckhardt, (XVI. p. 755,) does not so define what he says of the produce of this region as to afford a modern traveller any sufficient guidance in looking for either the aromatic rush or the balsam-tree.

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The view of *Hatîn*, page 129, is one of several illustrative of the scenery of the lake on this, its north-western shore, and it represents, from a near position, the precipitous gap which appears at a distance in the view of Gennesareth. But this very remarkable spot, with its excavations—the

retreat of the brigands of Galilee—is still more fully exhibited in a view of Ibn Ma'an, in connexion with which it will be noticed.

For a similar reason—that is to say, in order to abbreviate these descriptions of the Plates by avoidance of repetitions, the view of Masada, page 126, is for the present passed over; being, as it is, one of a set of Plates, including a plan of the spot. These views will exhibit on all sides an object remarkable on every account, natural and historical, and which has not hitherto been brought before the public. At present, it is enough to say, that this general view of Masada is from the lofty range, which shuts in the Dead Sea on the western side;—the direction of the eye being nearly due east, the opposite range being the mountains of Moab, seen at the distance of about twenty miles.

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### SCYTHOPOLIS.

THIS place is very frequently mentioned by Josephus, and always in a manner indicating its importance; which is attested also by other ancient writers. What we have to do therefore is, to identify the Seythopolis of the Greek and Roman writers, first, with the ancient city mentioned in the Hebrew Scriptures, to which the Greek name became attached, and next, with the modern site which is now assumed for it. If there be ground enough for this identification, many other points, geographical and historical, collaterally or inferentially connected with this, may the more readily be determined, and some important elucidation obtained, also, for passages in the Biblical text, as well as in that of our author. The first of these points is sufficiently ascertained, both in a direct and an indirect manner. The Seythopolis of Josephus and other writers is clearly the Bethshan, or Bethshean, of the Old Testament. The Septuagint translation, in rendering Judges i. 27, says, “Neither did Manasseh (the tribe) drive out the inhabitants of Bethshean . . . τὴν Βαιθσάν—and her towns”—and adds a parenthesis—ἥ ἐστὶ Σκυθῶν πόλις—“which is the city of the Seythians”—*i.e.* Seythopolis. Josephus, in describing the allocation of the tribes, *ANTIQ.* V. 1, 22, mentions “Bethshan, which now is called Seythopolis;” and *VI.* 14, 8—“Bethsan, which now is called Seythopolis;” and *XII.* 8, 5—“the city Bethsan, which by the Greeks is called Seythopolis;” and again, *XIII.* 6, 1. And so the series of Greek writers, down to Stephen of Byzantium, who says that Seythopolis—formerly Nyssa, of Cælo-Syria, was called at the first by the Barbarians—Basan. It does not seem necessary to cite these testimonies in an instance where no doubt can be entertained; but assuming it as certain, and anticipating for a moment our proof that the truncated hill represented in the Plate is the Seythopolis and the Bethshan of antiquity, we turn to the Scripture narrative of the defeat and death of Saul, 1 Sam. xxxi. This fatal conflict of the Israelites with the Philistines had

probably commenced upon the Great Plain, the south-eastern extremity of which is bisected by the low range of Mount Gilboa. Toward these hills Saul had led off his routed people; whither they were hotly pursued, and upon which he, and his sons, and armour-bearer died, and his people "fell down slain," and where the royal corpses were the next day found by the Philistines:—"they found Saul and his three sons fallen in Mount Gilboa." After mutilating the bodies, and dedicating the armour of Saul to their goddess Ashtaroth, they "fastened his body to the wall of Beth-shan." This place was not more than five or six miles from the battle field, or from the foot of Gilboa, and it was the principal city of the district. But a further reason for this choice, by an insulting foe, suggests itself when we look at the remarkable eminence represented in the Plate. If indeed this be the Bethshan and Scythopolis of antiquity, and if (as appears) the summit was crowned by the lofty walls of an acropolis, then no place more fitted for the triumphant exposure of the body of the vanquished king could be found. Lowered from the parapet of this wall, it would be visible from afar—a token to all of Israel's discomfiture and subjugation! "Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon!"

But there were loyal hearts at hand: Jabesh Gilcad, as placed by geographers, is about seven miles east of Jordan, and directly opposite to Bethshan. Its people, braving the danger of such an exploit, set out, and travelling "all night," (the distance may be fourteen miles,) reached it probably before sun-rise, and, surprising the watch, effected their purpose; for "they took the body of Saul, and the bodies of his sons, from the wall of Bethshan, and came to Jabesh, and burnt them there." Thus do the circumstances of the Biblical narrative consist, not merely with the relative position of the places, but with the natural peculiarities of the spot.

The ancient name, Bethshan, is—for the purpose of identification, sufficiently indicated in the modern name Beisan, especially when, as in this instance, every thing concurs to sustain the same conclusion. Bethshan—Scythopolis, was situated on the borders, or at the edge of the Great Plain, I. MAC. v. 52; on the border of the possessions of Manasseh, toward the north, ANTIQ. V. 1; and on the southern border of Galilee. In the LIFE, sect. 65, Josephus reminds his adversary, John of Tiberias, that his native city was thirty stadia from Hippos, sixty from Gadara, and a hundred and twenty from Scythopolis. Now although these measurements severally do not seem exact, the deficiency of each is respectively equal, so as to consist well with the proportionate dimensions of the triangle;—the modern Beisan being assumed as identical with the ancient Bethshan; and the series of writers, from Epiphanius and Jerome, down to the historians of the Crusades, exclude any doubt on this point. William of Tyre, (XXII. 16,) says that Bersan—Beisan—Scythopolis, is situated between Mount Gilboa and the Jordan, in a marshy plain; and the descriptions of modern travellers are all to the same effect. Burekhardt says, (p. 343,) "Bysan (Bethsan, Scythopolis) is situated upon rising ground, on the west side of the Ghor, where the

chain of mountains bordering the valley declines considerably in height, and presents merely elevated ground, quite open toward the west. At one hour distant, to the south, the mountains begin again (*i. e.* the eastern extremity of the Carmel range). The ancient town was watered by a river, now called Morit Bysan, or the water of Bysan, which flows in different branches towards the plains. The ruins of Scythopolis are of considerable extent, and the town, built along the banks of the rivulet and in the valleys formed by its several branches, must have been nearly three miles in circuit. The only remains are large heaps of black hewn stones, many foundations of houses, and the fragments of a few columns. I saw only a single shaft of a column standing. In one of the valleys is a large mound of earth, which appeared to me to be artificial; it was the site perhaps of a castle for the defence of the town." This "mound of earth" is probably the hill represented in the Plate.

Mr. Tipping thus describes his visit to this spot, 19th May, 1842:—"From Jenin, a large village—noted for the fantastic costume of the women—girt in with productive gardens, rich with the palm and mulberry, I directed my course to Bethshean. Crossing the desolate range of Fakuah, (Gilboa,) the descent to Bisan I found tedious and rugged in the extreme, so much so, that the perpetual stumbling of my horse distracted my attention from the extensive view which this range commands: on the right, the great level of Esdraëlon, and in front the entire Ghor, and the ranges of Ajalon, east of Jordan. The basin of Scythopolis was before us, with its remarkable Acropolis, rising in the centre. The silvery ribbon of the rivulet Bisan, was discernible through the hot haze, which, at the time, rendered so much the more monotonous and dismal this waste, strewn with masses of black basalt. The landscape was blackened also by several extinct fires—some were still raging at a distance. On approaching the site of Bethshean we came to a bridge, which is, I suppose, the one alluded to by Irby and Mangles; though the form of the arch is not Roman. I encamped near a wretched khan, then occupied by peasants who had come from the neighbouring villages to protect the ripe corn from the wild boars, which abound in this region. The stream which this bridge bestrides is milky in hue, and so warm as to induce me to believe that it is fed by a thermal spring, of which ancient authors mention several as known and frequented in this district. I also noticed on the bed of the stream certain calcareous formations and deposits, which reminded me of the famous petrified cascade of Hierapolis in Asia Minor. The bridge I have just mentioned is signalized, in my recollection, by my having there encountered a party of Bedoueen, by whom I was stripped, plundered, and threatened with death: fortunately an elder Bedoueen coming up, I was rescued from the hands of these ruffians, and my dress and equipment was restored to me. A similar peril, the previous day, and a sleepless night—annoyed as I was by mosquitoes, scorpions, and ants, gave me a disgust at the whole region, and indisposed me to give so much attention



to the ruins around me as otherwise I might. A branch strikes off from the stream already mentioned toward the west, and skirting the side of the Aeropolis, joins the main stream below. Toward the south-east, there is a large circular space, enclosed by a rising slope, where I found a well-preserved theatre—the one referred to by Irby and Mangles. There is also hereabouts a great quantity of black foundations, and heaps of stones. The Aeropolis, which I did not ascend, is a slope, covered with high ripe grass:—black patches showed that it had recently been burnt. I detected a few lines of walls; but no trace of building or tower. The hill suggested the idea of a volcanic cone. The rivulet, skirting the north side of the hill, rushes down a deep chasm clothed with the richest and rankest vegetation; the precipitous sides of this ravine were ornamented with pendant stalactites, which at once confirmed the supposition above mentioned, as to the existence of a thermal spring. In following this stream I came to an old bridge, with a high narrow arch: passing the bridge, and looking back, the Aeropolis presents itself in a very picturesque aspect, and owing to the descent, it appeared to rise, detached on all sides, and presented itself in a far more imposing manner than as seen from the other side: from this spot I took a drawing. On mounting the high ground round about the Aeropolis, I saw that the site consisted of a kind of basin, formed by the encircling streams, and enclosed by rocky slopes; the whole commanded by the central hill. These slopes, especially in the vicinity of the theatre, must have been covered with houses and buildings. To the north-east of the Aeropolis, on the high slope, are numerous excavated tombs, some of them containing sarcophagi, but which are without ornament."

Here, again, is a spot—at present rarely approached by European travellers, from the unusual ferocity, and the marauding habits of the Bedouen that haunt it—where a leisurely survey of the surface, together with judicious explorations beneath it, would undoubtedly reward cost and labour. The site of Seythopolis would offer to the archæologist—we assume this as in the highest degree probable—many relics of that long ecclesiastical period during which it was noted at once for its monastic establishments, and its metropolitan church importance. There would next, in the retrogressive order of the spade and pickaxe, be found the monuments of that earlier ecclesiastical period, during which Christian structures were slowly coming in the place of Roman works, civil and military: nor would there, probably, be wanting coins and marbles belonging to the Asmonean and Macedonian times. Nor should it be thought improbable, that, wherever a *remarkable natural site* may clearly be identified with an ancient Israelitish city, some relics of so remote an age may have been conserved beneath and among the foundations of later structures. This sort of probability attaching to places such as Hebron, Gaza, Shechem, and Baalbee, belongs in full force also to Bethshean.

In the view presented in the Plate, the direction of the eye is south-west by west. The heights of Gilboa bound the prospect to the right and left

of the Acropolis. The ruins in front appear to be those of a Roman bridge. A Saracenic bridge, in a less dilapidated state, bestrides the Tell Beisan, westward of the hill. The remains of a theatre are discernible in the Plate toward the right hand.

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### THE LAKE PHIALA.

THE lake, or pool, represented in this Plate, is one of the most singular natural objects in Palestine, and should invite the particular attention of travellers. The circumstances under which Mr. Tipping discovered it were such as to forbid his doing more than to take the sketch from which afterwards a drawing was made. Among the objects specified as those which would claim especial notice—should the opportunity present itself—one was, to find among the rugged and difficult paths of the district embraced by the curve of Jebel Heish—the Phiala of antiquity. Not one of the spots hitherto marked in maps as the position of this pool could well be accepted as the true one—if the account given of it, and of its relation to other spots by Josephus, were to be regarded as correct; and if at the same time the description of pools, seen or visited by some modern travellers, were to be made to agree at once with the text of Josephus, and with the maps of Palestine that are usually referred to. We shall first adduce Mr. Tipping's narrative of his discovery of this lake. He says:—

“On leaving Banias Paneas (Cæsarea Philippi) I went in quest of Phiala; and though I cannot hesitate to assume it as certain that the pool represented in my drawing is *the* Phiala of Josephus, I will not attempt to disguise the fact, that my researches in this neighbourhood were attended with considerable perplexity. I will however narrate the circumstances of this exploring excursion, and then every one may draw his own conclusion from the facts so placed before him.

“Dr. Robinson, in his excellent map of Palestine, places Phiala where he *supposes* it to be (*i. e.* where the text of Josephus would lead us to look for it); a few miles further south he places also the name—Birket-er-Ram: but it must be borne in mind that he did not visit this district; and that therefore the two names find their places on the authority, either of travellers, or of geographers.

“A peasant, familiar with the country, having been procured as guide, I asked him what lakes there were in this region, besides Tuburieh and Huleh. He held up a finger in reply. ‘What is *that* one then?’—‘The Birket-er-Ram.’ ‘But do you not know that there is a small round Birket to the north of Birket-er-Ram, and nearer to the great mountain?’ ‘Yes,’ said he, ‘you are right;—there is such a one—a very small one, in a valley in the **very** mountain.’ To this, of course, I directed him to conduct me. We took a north-easterly course, and soon began to ascend. Some hours







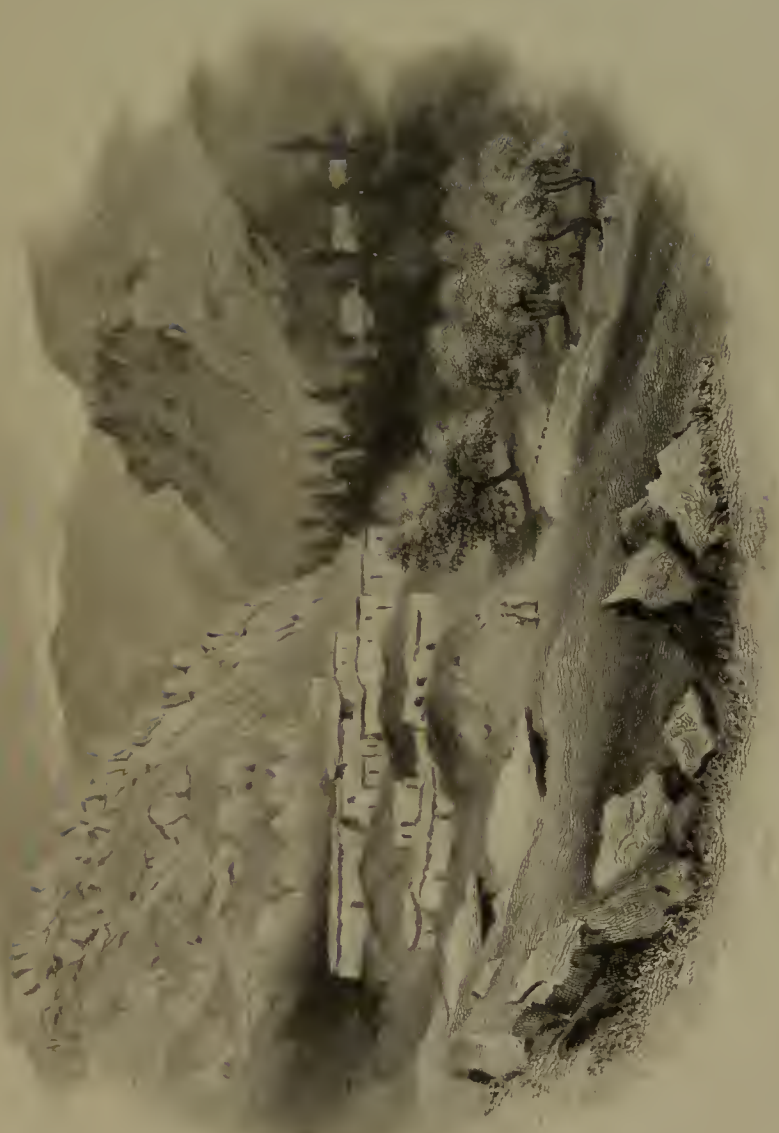


TOWER NEAR JERICO.



















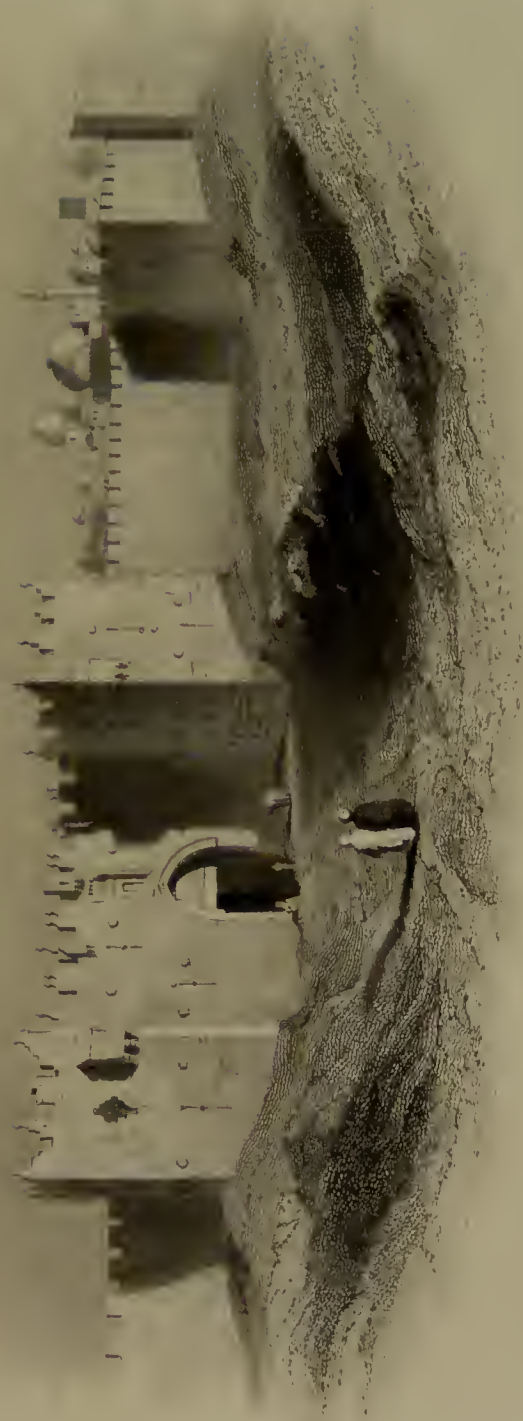
IBN MA'AN











DAMASCUS GATE.









RUINS OF THE CASTLE OF HAFELM





# JOSEPHUS.

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THE LATE DR. TRAILL'S TRANSLATION;  
EDITED BY ISAAC TAYLOR.

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## NOTICE.

THE FIRST VOLUME of this work, containing the Life of Josephus, and the First and Second Books of the Jewish War, together with an Introductory Essay, and Explanations of the Plates, reached its completion early in the year 1847. This was soon after the afflictive event of the Translator's death, who fell a victim to the extraordinary exertions made by him to alleviate the sufferings of his Parishioners, during the famine and pestilence which then devastated the south of Ireland.

Dr. Traill having, some time before the commencement of those calamities, completed the revision of his Translation, and made other arrangements requisite for carrying the Work through the press, it had not been supposed that his death would have occasioned any interruption in the course of the publication. Obstacles, however, presented themselves which had not been foreseen, and which rendered delay unavoidable. But at length the Editor is permitted to resume his labours; and he is now able to announce the regular appearance of the Monthly Parts, completing the Second Volume, and the JEWISH WAR: each Part illustrated with Eight or more Engravings.















